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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDIÆ ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,

December 1857.

LESTORIE DES ENGLIS.

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LESTORIE DES ENGLIS

SOLUM

LA TRANSLACION

MAISTRE GEFREI GAIMAR.

EDITED

BY

THE LATE SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L.,
DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS;

AND

CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A.

VOL. II.

TRANSLATION.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
PREFACE	ix
ERRATA	xli
TRANSLATION	1
INDEX	247

P R E F A C E.

DA
25
.B8
V. 91

P R E F A C E.

The present volume contains the translations of "Lestorie des Engles" and of the "Lai d Haueloc le Danois." The translations have been made line by line in order that the same index may refer both to the texts and to the translations.

The preface to the previous volume treated of the manuscripts in which Gaimar's work is preserved and of the language employed by him, but there remain to be said a few words about historical matters connected therewith.

Considerable research has failed to bring to light any more facts about the author of "Lestorie des Engles" ^{The} author. than are told by himself.¹ He wrote the book at the request of Custance, wife of Ralf FitzGilbert,¹ using for it manuscripts borrowed by their friend Walter Espec from Robert Earl of Gloucester. This nobleman was natural son of Henry I.—

"li reis meillur

"ki vnkes fust, ne iames seit" ²

according to Gaimar.

Gloucester died in 1147, and as it is clear from Gaimar's words that he wrote in his lifetime, this date is the latest limit of time for the composition of the work. The earl's father, King Henry, appears, from the language used concerning him, to be dead, though this is not distinctly stated. If this assumption be correct, 1135 would be the earliest date possible. In any case,

¹ See vv. 6435, et seqq.

| ² v. 6505.

Gaimar precedes by some years Maistre Wace, who wrote in 1155.

As to Gaimar's nationality, his frequent mistranslations of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle prove him not to have been an Englishman; he was, no doubt, a Norman, the French in which he writes being his natural tongue. His name may, perhaps, have been derived from a place in the town of Caen described by Mons. Dupont, formerly a judge of the Court of Appeal there, and author of the *Histoire du Côtentin*, as "un petit quartier qui renferme une rue, une fontaine et un moulin, qui ont porté de toute antiquité et portent encore aujourd'hui, le nom de Gémare."¹ The Rue Gémare is to the south-west of the castle, south-east of the Benedictine convent, and runs from the Rue des Cordeliers to the Rue des Teinturiers. The "Molendinum de Gaimara," which was granted in frank-almoign to the Abbey of Ardenne by Richard I.,² is now the "Usine Hydraulique de Gémare."³

¹ I am indebted for this letter to the kindness of my friend Mr. W. L. de Gruchy.

² Stapleton, Rot. Seacc. Norm. I., 185, &c.; Charter Roll, 1 John, v. 6; Rot. Norm., 2 John, pp. 15, 16.

³ "La Rue de Gemare est celle qui va du Moulin de Gémare à la Rue de Geosle. Le Moulin, la Fontaine voisine, le Pont sur l'Odon, qu'on nomme Le Ponchel, et tout ce petit quartier, portent ce même surnom de Gemare. Dans les anciennes Chartres des donations faites à l'abbaye de S. Estienne, ce Moulin est appelé *Molendinum de Waimara*. Et les Registres postérieurs, mais anciens, l'appellent Guymare, Gymare, Gimaire, Giesmare et Guimare. Cette Rue de Gemare s'appelle autrement les

"Tours des Terres. Quoique ce nom ne se trouve point dans M. le Bras, il n'est pourtant pas récent. Ces mêmes Registres marquent un Petit, un Grand & un Haut Gemare. Ils appellent le Petit Gemare, le bas de la Rue de Gemare, qui aboutit à la rue de Geosle, et le Grand Gemare le haut de la même rue, qui aboutit au Moulin de Gemare, et à la rue des Teinturiers; et le Haut Gemare, la Rue qui va du Moulin de Gemare au Carrefour de l'Épincte. Ils placent aussi vers la Rue de Gemare, la Rue et l'Hôtel de Foulongne, la Rue de la Boncherie, et la Venelle de l'Image, mais dont on ignore la situation." Origines de la Ville de Caen, Daniel Huet, 1706, p. 97.

This locality supplied a surname to its inhabitants, and in 1195 Robert and William de Gaimara paid their share of the tallage for the ransom of Richard I.¹

Among the suite of Humbert Count of Maurienne, at the marriage settlement of his daughter Aalis with John son of King Henry II., there was a person named Gofredus Gamerii,² which sounds very much like the Latin for Geffrei Gaimar. This marriage treaty took place in 1173, when Gaimar might possibly have been alive, but there is no evidence of the identity of the two persons.

A similar name is found in the Lombard princely family of Salerno, four of the reigning princes between A.D. 880 and 1050 being named Guaimarius (*Guaimaro*) or Weimarius,³ but this was not a surname.

Another similar name, Gamardus, is older, and probably of a different origin. St. Erembert in the seventh century had a brother Gamardus, who was a benefactor of the Benedictine abbey of S. Wandrille, near Caudebec,⁴ and in the eleventh century a man of the same name was a benefactor of the monks of Dol.⁵

The name, however, cannot have been common or have survived till later times, as it is not mentioned in Moisy's "Noms de Famille Normands."

In England the various forms in which the name occurs are as follows. Guarinus fil. Guimeri was a witness to a charter of Alan Earl of Brittany and Richmond, to Fountains Abbey, which was founded about 1132.⁶

¹ Stapleton, Rot. Seacc. Norm. I., 172, 173, 175, 180.

² Eened. Abbas, i. 38. The MS. (Jul. A. XI. f. 43 b) has Sofredus here and again further on, but this is almost certainly an error, S and G being much alike in some MS.

³ Codex Dipl. Cavensis, i. x.; Pertz, iii. 210; P. Giannone, Istoria

Civile del Regno di Napoli, i. 364; Grævius, Thesaur. Antiq. et Hist. Italiae, vol. ix., pt. i., 39, 43, &c.; Peregrini, Hist. Princip. Langobard. i. 260, 261, v. i.

⁴ Gall. Christ., xi. 161 b.

⁵ Bréquigny, Table Chronologique des Diplomes, ii. 217.

⁶ Dugd. Monast., v. 306.

Some time before 1195 a certain Guiemarus gave certain lands, and himself as well, to Jervaulx Abbey.¹ His brother Roger fil. Radulfi is mentioned at the same time. In the Jervaulx Charters printed by Dugdale, Rogerus fil. Wyemari, Rogerus de Gunymary, and Hugo fil. Wymari occur, with a brother Garnarus or Warnerius. No doubt these all refer to the same person, and there is some error either in the fine or the charters.

In or before 1199 there was a Guiomar son of Warin de Bassingeburn connected with Hertfordshire.² The coincidence of the names leads to the suggestion that we have here a son of the Guarinus mentioned at the foot of the last page. In the same year, 1 John,³ the King confirmed a grant of the manor of Thwiford and lands in Campeden by the Earl of Chester to a Breton named Gwiomarus, perhaps the same person as G. the Breton hostage, in the custody of the Abbot of Fécamp, whom Alan Fitz Count obtained from the King at the price of a gift of four greyhounds.⁴ The fact that Alan witnesses the charter to Guiomarus renders this probable. In the next King's reign Guimerus Senescallus is found acting as justice in Norfolk and Suffolk.⁵ Perhaps some future discovery, accidental or otherwise, may establish some connexion between the poet and some of these names, but at present no such conjectures can be hazarded.

A Gaufridus Capellanus also attested charters to Kirkstead,⁶ the abbey of which Ralf Fitz Gilbert was a benefactor, but the name is very common, and identification is impossible.

¹ viginti acris terre in Cristecroft cum pertinenciis quas Guiemarus frater suus dedit cum corpore suo abbacie de Gerevall. Fines, Unknown and Divers Counties 10.

² Rot. Cur. Reg., 1 John, vol. ii., 139.

³ Charter Roll, 1 John, m. 10.

⁴ Rot. de Oblatis, p. 29.

⁵ Close Roll, 10 Hen. III., m. 26 d.

⁶ Dugd. Mon., v. 419.

There was another Galfridus, who was chaplain of Henry I.;¹ and a man holding such an appointment might well be able to say, as Gaimar does,—

“Sil ad guarant
Del Rei Henri dirrat auant;
Ke sil en volt vn poi parler
E de sa vie translater,
Tels mil choses en purrad dire
Ke vnkes Davit ne fist escriuere.”²

But the date of the charter to which his name is appended (1125–1127) makes it unlikely that this person should be Gaimar. It is more likely to be Geoffrey Rufus, chancellor, afterwards Bishop of Durham. The same name is found on the Pipe Rolls of the reign of Henry II.,³ but there is nothing to identify the person.

I have also attempted to identify Raul le fiz Gilebert, who appears to have been Gaimar's patron, but without arriving at any certainty. That he lived in the east of England is most probable from Gaimar's reference to events in that part of the kingdom. I find accordingly a man named Radulfus filius Gilleberti in the service of Gilbert of Ghent, second Earl of Lincoln. As a reward for his services the earl granted him the lordship of the town of Scampton in Lincolnshire, with 26 bovates of land, and a mill, for the service of half a knight.⁴ Scampton is in the hundred of Lawress, then called the Wapentake of Laulris.

Ralf Fitz
Gilbert.

A few years later Ralf gave this land, together with Thomas son of Wigot and his descendants and his holding, to Kirkstead Abbey.⁵ The charter is addressed to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, who must be Robert de Chesney, bishop from 1147 to 1168, and it was con-

¹ Dugd. Mon., iii. 87.

² vv. 6484–9.

³ Pipe Roll, 2 Hen. II., p. 16;

7 Hen. II., p. 68.

U 51689.

⁴ Vesp. E. xviii., 99 b.

⁵ Vesp. E. xviii. 99; Dugd. Mon. Augl., v. 421.

firmed, with other grants, by Henry II., between 1157 and 1161.¹

The grant was confirmed also by Rohesia, widow of Earl Gilbert, in a twofold method, by a repetition of the grant to Ralf with a remission of the service, and by a grant of confirmation to the abbey.² In the latter document the countess states that the land in question had previously been given to her by her husband as dower.

The probable date of this confirmation is between 1149 and 1156. Alice her daughter, with her husband, Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, also signified their concurrence.³

These confirmations certainly suggest some connexion between Ralf and the family of Gilbert of Ghent.

In another charter of the earl, the same name (Rad. fil. Gileberti), and doubtless the same person, occurs as a witness.⁴ According to Dugdale, Gilbert left only daughters, and it is possible that Ralf was an illegitimate son. In the Countess of Lincoln's confirmation, a brother of Ralf is mentioned, bearing the same Christian name, and called Radulphus Villanus.⁵ This might possibly be a brother by another father.

None of these charters contains the name of Custance, FitzGilbert's wife, according to Gaimar. A wife is mentioned but nameless, and a nameless son, who was buried at Scampton in his father's lifetime.⁶ Another son, Ralf, confirms the donation to Kirkstead, and appears at a later time as tenant of a later Gilbert of Ghent, the earl's nephew, and as assisting him in redressing injuries committed against the see of Norwich,

¹ Harl. Ch. 43, c. 17. The 26 bovates of the original grant here figure as 3 carucates and 3 bovates.

² Vesp. E. xviii. 99 b.; Harl. Ch. 50, F. 32.

³ Cott. Ch., xvi. 37; Vesp. E. xviii. 99 b; A. in Charters; Dugdale calls her Alice, Baronage, 400.

⁴ Harl. Ch. 83, E. 54.

⁵ Harl. Ch. 50, F. 32.

⁶ Vesp. E. xviii. 99.

when it was taken by Louis of France in 1216.¹ This confirmation by Ralf the younger, and his father's second charter, are both attested by a person who, if our identification of Ralf Fitz Gilbert be correct, may very possibly have been Gaimar himself. In one place he is called "Gaufridus Capellanus de Tateshale," and in the other simply "Gaufridus Capellanus."²

Gaimar does not expressly say that he was a priest, but it is certainly probable.

The founder of Markby Priory in Lincolnshire,³ and the benefactor of the Gilbertine House of Lindelai, whose donation was confirmed by Henry II. about 1155,⁴ were contemporaries of the benefactor of Kirkstead, and may have been the same person. The same may be said of Randulfus, who was brother of Robert Fitz Gilbert of Thadwell, founder of Leyborne Nunnery,⁵ and present at the declaration of the grant at the grantor's funeral, by William his son, which must have taken place before the reign of John.

This Robert Fitz Gilbert occurs in the Pipe Roll of 7 Henry II. as living in Lincolnshire,⁶ while Ralf must have had property also in Wiltshire, as 4 marks which he owed to the Exchequer were directed to be levied in that county.⁷

The same name occurs also in 9-10 Ric. I. (1197-9) in Bedfordshire,⁸ in 3 John (1201-2) in Lincolnshire, Notts, and Derby,⁹ in 1218 in the West of England,¹⁰ and during the same century in Kent.¹¹

The Lincolnshire notice may possibly refer to the person in question, or to his son, but not the others.

¹ Vesp. E. xviii., f. 106 b.

² Gaufr' capell' et Jagan' filius ejus.

³ Dugd. Mon. Angl., vi. 561.

⁴ Harl. Ch. 43, c. 19.

⁵ Dugd. Mon. Angl., v. 634.

⁶ Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II., p. 16.

⁷ Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II., p. 57.

⁸ Rot. Cur. Reg., i. 153, 172.

⁹ Rotulus Cancellarii, pp. 169, 191, 313.

¹⁰ Close Roll, 2 Hen. III., p. 355.

¹¹ Harl. Ch. 79 D. 42.

Contemporary with Gaimar there were also other Fitz Gilberts:—Alexander, in Essex;¹ Baldwin, who witnessed two charters of King Stephen, dated at Lincoln and Northampton, and another connected with Bourne in Lincolnshire;² Reginald, who had a house near “Wenlauesdene” and “Bulileie”;³ “Ricardus fil. “Gisleb. fil. Bleihoc,” in the West;⁴ “Herbertus filius “Gilleberti filii Herberti de Rigghesbia,” a benefactor of the Nuns of Grenefeld;⁵ Conanus fil. Roberti fil. Gilberti, alive in 1154;⁶ Jordan, who gave the church of Wilberfoss, Yorks, to the nunnery there, in the reign of Henry II.;⁷ Walter, who granted land at Wallam to Maurice fil. Galfredi;⁸ John, who attested a pardon granted by Henry Duke of Normandy to Ranulf Earl of Chester in 1152;⁹ and William, who performed the same function with regard to a charter to the monks of St. Neots, in 1165.¹⁰

The surname occurs several times¹¹ also in the following century, especially in the eastern counties, but it has not been possible to establish any relationship between the various holders, as patronymics had scarcely become general for family names at this early period.

Walter
Espec.

As to Walter Espee (the Woodpecker) who lent Lady Custance some of the books which Gaimar used, there is no difficulty. His name is well known as the founder of the Abbeyes of Kirkham, Rievaulx, and Wardon, and for his gallant conduct at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. “The noblest character among the lay barons of

¹ Cott. Ch., xxvii. 96.

² Harl. Ch., 43 C. 13; 50 A. 9;
83 A. 24.

³ Harl. Ch. 78 A. 53.

⁴ Harl. Ch. 49 B. 23.

⁵ Harl. Ch. 55 D. 12.

⁶ Pipe Roll Soc. Charters, i. 54.

⁷ Dugd. Mon. Angl., iv. 354.

⁸ Add. MS. 5937, f. 150.

⁹ Rym., i. 16; Cott. Ch., xvii. 2.

¹⁰ Add. Ch. 8617.

¹¹ Harl. Ch. 52 F. 7, 9; 52 E. 38, 39; 50 A. 42; 51 B. 14, 16, 22, 25; 52 F. 46; 44 G. 44; 50 A. 41; 50 B. 30; 57 D. 48, E. 7; 83 G. 19, 28; 84 A. 2; Add. Ch. 5381, 20923, 20924, 20961-2, 8412-3, 20689; Campb. Ch., v. 9; Lansd. Ch., 405; Cotton Ch., xxix. 5.

“his time,”¹ he died in Rievaulx Abbey in 1153, leaving no issue, his son having been killed by a fall from his horse.² His three sisters inherited his estates, of whom the second, Albreda, married Nicolas de Trailli, and had four sons by him, Geoffrey, William, Nicholas, and Gilbert. The Nicolas de Trailli appealed to by the poet³ is either Albreda’s husband or son.

The history of the composition of Gaimar’s poem, according to what the author himself tells us, was as follows:—Custance the wife of Ralf Fitz Gilbert suggested the work to him. His facts were derived from many books, French, English, and Latin, and the following are especially mentioned. Sources of
the poem.

1. A translation made by order of Robert, Earl of Gloucester of a Welsh Chronicle of Welsh Kings, which was borrowed for the purpose by Walter Espec. The earl was a great patron of learning, and it is to him that Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicates his *Historia Regum Britannice*, which is very probably the book referred to here. This has not been much used in *Lestorie des Engles*, but was no doubt the foundation of the *livere bien devant*, referred to in the opening lines, though the statement that Iwain was made King of Mureif and Loeneis⁴ does not quite tally with Geoffrey of Monmouth’s story. Iwain, however, may be merely a mistake of Gaimar’s for Urien, whom Arthur is said to have made King of Mureif, while Loudonesia was the share of Lot his brother-in-law.

2. A book belonging to Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. This is the person who is known as Walter “Calenius,” a surname, according to Mr. H. Bradley, with no contemporary authority, but given, presumably by Bale, or some other modern scholar as a classical translation of

¹ Norgate’s *Angevin Kings*, i. 67.

² Ailredus Abbas Rievallensis.
Twysden, x. Scriptt. Dugd. Mon.

Angl., v. 274, 286, 369; vi. 207;
Baronage, 590.

³ v. 6482.

⁴ v. 6.

"of Oxford."¹ He was archdeacon in the early part of the twelfth century, and acted as the King's justiciar at Winchester and at Peterborough in 1125. He was succeeded in the archdeaconry by Robert Foliot in 1151,² and we may therefore suppose died in that year. If this book was the same as that of which the loan is acknowledged by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and described by him as "quendam Britannici sermonis librum" "vetustissimum, qui a Bruto primo Rege Britonum usque ad Cadwaladrum filium Cadwalonis, actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpuleris orationibus proponebat;"³ as it was translated by him for his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, it could only have been used by Gaimar for the purpose of testing Geoffrey's accuracy of translation and supplying omissions made by him, but his acknowledgment of his indebtedness⁴ certainly means more than this, and I think his words imply that the *bon livre de Oreford* was not Welsh.

Geoffrey of Monmouth says that the owner of the book "ex Britannia advexit."⁵ Mr. Bradley thinks this means Brittany, but Geoffrey uses *Armorica* for Brittany and *Britannia* for Britain, and I see no reason for considering it as anything more than a Welsh book from Wales.⁶ It is true that *Adveho* generally implies importation by sea, but, even if the word was confined to this use in classical Latin, an argument could hardly be founded on the precise meaning of the word.

3. Another book of which Gaimar gives the name is the History of Winchester.⁷ What this was he tells us himself, viz., a volume of history, or rather annals, com-

¹ Dict. of Nat. Biog., viii. 249.

² Le Neve's *Fasti Ecc. Ang.*, ii. 64.

³ Geoffrey of Monmouth (Caxton Soc.), i. 1.

⁴ fes i mist ke li Waleis ourent leisse, v. 6461.

⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth (Caxton Soc.), 228.

⁶ On the other hand, Geoffrey of Monmouth certainly used *Gualenses* for Welsh sometimes.

⁷ vv. 2234, 2334, 6467, 3451.

piled by Ælfred's orders from information furnished by monks and canons in various parts of England, and chained up like a church Bible in Winchester Cathedral. This cannot be the volume known as the *Annales Wintonice*, now in the British Museum,¹ which is of later date, and in Latin, nor is any copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which has come down to us known to have belonged to Winchester Cathedral, but we may fairly assume that *lestorie de Wincestre* was the copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which Gaimar used, and which, as we shall show,² did not exactly tally with any which we now possess.

4. The English book of Washingborough.³ Here I can only repeat Petrie's note. "Nothing has occurred " to identify the book here noticed." Washingborough is about three miles east of Lincoln, and was granted to Peterborough Abbey by Wulfhere of Mercia in A.D. 664,⁴ and in Domesday book is said to be held by the King.⁵ Kirkstead Abbey, of which Gaimar's friends the Fitz Gilberts were benefactors, also had property there, by the gift of Conan, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond.

This may account for Gaimar's having access to the book, but gives us no further clue as to what the book might be or who its owner was. It has been suggested that it might have been Ælfred's translation of Orosius, and I have no better suggestion to offer, unless, judging from the connexion between Washingborough and Peterborough,⁶ it was a copy of the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle such as Bodl. MS. Laud., 636, the chronology of which Gaimar often follows.

¹ MS. Cott. Domit. A. viii.
 Edited by Rev. H. R. Luard in
Annales Monastici, vol. ii. (Rolls
 Series).

² See p. xxiii.

³ v. 6469.

⁴ Kemble, *Dipl. Sax.*, 984.

⁵ Domesday, 337 b.

⁶ Dugd., v. 422.

5. Gildas is also cited¹ in the commencement of the story of Haveloc, but there is no passage in the *De Excidio Britannia* or indeed in the *Epistola Gildæ*, the only works of his which have come down to the present time, which in any way refers to the kingdoms of Adelbrit and Edelsie. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions another book by Gildas, called *De Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*, which is not extant, and Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of his having written and destroyed *libros egregios de Gestis Arthuri et gentis suæ*.² Besides this, Geoffrey of Monmouth, as well as Geoffrey Gaimar, quotes him "for information of which no trace exists in any copy with which we are acquainted." So that we must suppose that some unknown work of Gildas passed through Gaimar's hands. Geoffrey of Monmouth sometimes confuses Gildas and Nennius, but the present story does not occur in either writer,³ so that Nennius cannot be intended here.

There are other terms used by the author to describe his sources.

La geste,⁴ sometimes with the addition of the adjectives *vereie* or *veille*, clearly always means the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that is, the facts which are referred to it are to be found in the Chronicles. This same authority is also called *Croniz*⁵ and *Cronicle*, though in one place⁶ Gaimar's confusion between Oswald and Alfwold might lead to the surmise that some other source was meant.

This is not invariably true of the phrase *lestorie*, *veraie estorie*,⁷ &c., which is applied also to the original of Haveloc, that is, to some lost work of Gildas; to the account of Eadmund's martyrdom, here clearly distin-

¹ v. 41.

² Giraldus Cambrensis, vi. 209. (Rolls Ed.)

³ See Stevenson's edition of Gildas, pp. ix-xv.

⁴ vv. 828, 2233, 2527.

⁵ vv. 954, 2110, 2331.

⁶ v. 2110.

⁷ vv. 758, 1949, 2255, 2335, 2930, 3937, 5712.

guished by Gaimar from his principal authorities; and to the story of Eadward's murder at Corfe Gate.

*Le livre, li livre ancien*¹, and *li ancienz*² also evidently mean the Chronicle.

The phrase *lantive gent*³ is perhaps used rather for tradition than for written authority.

*Mi Meistre*⁴ certainly does not mean the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but some French book.

Li bref,⁵ which is adduced as vouching for the burial of Oswald's head with St. Cuthbert at Durham, must be some biography of the latter saint, or account of his translation.

The Chronicle mentions only the preservation of Oswald's hands, but a narrative of the translation of St. Cuthbert to a new tomb in A.D. 1054, preserved in a M.S. of the eleventh century, speaks of finding the head of St. Oswald and bones of St. Aidan with the saint's corpse *ut in antiquis libris legitur*,⁶ one of which *antiqui libri* no doubt Gaimar had seen. William of Malmesbury also bears testimony to the same fact.⁷

Another saint's life used by Gaimar is that of St. Guthlac, perhaps the life by Felix, his contemporary.⁸

For the period before the Norman Conquest, Gaimar certainly depended mainly for his facts upon a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but occasionally he gives stories and versions of stories which are not to be found there.

If our identification of Ralf Fitz Gilbert be right, Gaimar must have lived in Lincolnshire, and from his patron's friendship with Walter Espec have had special

¹ vv. 990, 3238.

² vv. 1682, 1786.

³ v. 2405.

⁴ v. 3241.

⁵ v. 1296.

⁶ Acta Sanctorum, ix. 138 f.

⁷ Caput Oswaldi Regis et Martyris inter brachia ejus (sc. Cuthberti) inventum. Gesta Pont., Lib. iii., § 134, Rolls Ed.

⁸ v. 1637. Printed in Acta Sanctorum, 11 Apr.

Use of the
A. S.
Chron.

means of acquiring information concerning events connected with the Northern and Eastern parts of the kingdom. We find, accordingly, that his additions to and amplifications of the bare words of the Chronicle, more often refer to these localities than to other districts.

The Lay of Haveloc, with which Gaimar almost commences his history, has been the subject of an English lay, as well as of the two French ones printed here. It tells us of a Danish king's son, brought up as a scullion, and founding a kingdom in the east of England. As a story, it contains many elements of interest, but as it is scarcely historical, and has been so thoroughly discussed by Sir Frederick Madden,¹ and more recently by Mr. H. L. D. Ward,² there is no need to do more here than refer the reader to the writings of these high authorities.

The brief mention in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the Northumbrians expelling their king Osbryht, and the death of his successor at York, is expanded into a long and interesting story, not without a touch of the supernatural, in which the Danes are invited to invade Northumbria by a thane to avenge his wife's dishonour.³ The *motif* is common enough, and a similar story is told with different names, the king being Ælla and the thane Aernulfus. This occurs in a MS. of the early part of the thirteenth century, and is printed in Vol. I., p. 328.

The foot-notes to the translation will show how closely the Chronicle has generally been followed, and will also point out certain mistranslations and other errors, which can only be explained by assuming that Gaimar mis-

¹ Havelock the Dane, Roxburgh Club, 1828.

² Catalogue of Romances in the

Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum, pp. 423, 940.

³ vv. 2595-2836.

understood his original.¹ In this he was not alone, even Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Fthelwerdus, though English by birth, makes such mistakes as translating "gefuhton wip Gerente" "bellum gesserunt contra Uuthgirete regem."²

Whether the Chronicle used by Gaimar was any which we now have is uncertain. To show the difficulty of determining such a point, it may be noticed that Gaimar puts the death of Cenwulf, King of the Mercians, seven years after Eggbryht's raid in West Wales.³ Of the six texts of the A. S. Chronicle printed by Thorpe only two afford a basis for such a statement. Tiberius B.I. (called by Josselyn, *Chronicon Abbendonie*) gives the dates as 812 and 819, and Domitian A. VIII. 815 and 822, while all the others allow only six years, viz., from 813 to 819.

On the other hand, the fleet which arrived at Southampton in A.D. 837⁴ had according to Gaimar 33 ships. This is the reading of all the MSS., *except* Tiberius B.I., which Gaimar follows in the passage referred to above. Domitian A. VIII. omits the event. The death of Sihtric again⁵ is only mentioned in Tiberius B. IV., while Laud. MS. 636 and Domitian A. VIII. are followed in the omission of all occurrences between A.D. 893 and A.D. 901. Both these manuscripts are ascribed to the twelfth century, and cannot therefore be much earlier than Gaimar's own time. The Bodleian MS. is supposed to have belonged to Peterborough Abbey.

The probability therefore is that the copy used was different to any now extant.

It may be worth while to note here a few specimens of Gaimar's additions to or differences from the Chronicle, as throwing some light on his historical value.

<p>¹ See pp. 64, 75, 76, 97, 98, nn.</p> <p>² Mon. Brit., p. 507 B.</p>	<p>³ v. 2239.</p> <p>⁴ v. 2397.</p> <p>⁵ v. 3505.</p>
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A writer of history in verse, a Trouvère, is often tempted to enlarge and expand his facts merely from his artistic sense and desire to produce a certain effect. This tendency can be clearly seen to have operated strongly on Geoffrey Gaimar, and suspicion is thus thrown on all his additions to the bare record of the *Chronicle*. Titles and epithets are inserted freely, even at random. Sigbald, for instance, is only called "uns riches home del pais" to rhyme with "oseis," though the description is very possibly correct. Henry of Huntingdon, a prose writer, in this instance sins worse than Gaimar, for he says that Sigbald was killed in the beginning of the battle between Ine and Nuu, and Geraint, though the *Chronicle* only says the same year.

Similarly the praise applied to Quenburh,

" Tant se penat de faire honur,
Ke unc en cel tens, en la contree
U ele fu, nout tant amee."²

and to Hunferth,

" De clergie fud mult bon mestre,
Unc plus sage nestuet estre,"

sound suspiciously like stock phrases, and the suspicions are confirmed on finding that "Karl," that is Charles the Great, is called "King of Cumberland" merely, as far as one can judge, because Eardwulf King of Northumbria occurs close by.³

The *victory* of the Welsh over Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, in A.D. 753,⁴ must, we fear, be ascribed to the same cause. Neither the A. S. *Chronicle*, the "*Annales Cambriæ*," nor the "*Brut y Tywysogion*" mention it. Florence of Worcester, on the contrary, has embellished the simple words (gefeahrt wið Wealas) in another sense, writing "ex eis quam plurimos inter-
fecit." In some cases these fanciful additions are

¹ vv. 1634,

² v. 1680.

³ v. 2228.

⁴ v. 1804.

clearly wrong. According to Gaimar,¹ King Sihtric who died in A.D. 926, was slain by King Eadward in revenge for the death of his brother Niel five years before; and even the detail of the weapon being a sword is added. Unfortunately Eadward died before Sihtric, according to the A. S. Chronicle, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

That Æthelred should be crowned at Winchester, as Eadward was afterwards, was natural enough, but though Gaimar adds the detail that the ceremony was performed before St. Vincent's altar, it is probably a mere guess of his, as the A. S. Chronicle distinctly says that "Æthelred was hallowed King at Kingston,"³ I am informed by the Dean of Winchester that nothing is known of the altar so precisely named, nor was there any church in Winchester dedicated to St. Vincent.

There are other additions of a similar kind which may possibly be true, but in many cases there is no conclusive evidence on the point.

The burial of Cynewulf's kinsman at Defurel⁴ is mentioned nowhere else. The description of the serpents in Sussex changing colour and singing is not preserved in writing, but according to the editor of the "Monumenta Britannica,"⁵ "they seem to be still remembered in the popular traditions of the western parts of Sussex," so that these wonders are not perhaps solely the fruit of "the poet's eye."

The comet of A.D. 678⁶ is not supposed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to have any connexion with St. Wilfrith's banishment, though it happened the same year. That the comet followed him is evidently another version of the story told by Eadmer of the saint's jailers being

¹ v. 3505

² v. 4030.

³ A° 979.

⁴ v. 1919.

⁵ p. 788, n. l.

⁶ v. 1450.

alarmed at seeing a light shining in his prison during the night.¹

The martyrdom of St. Eadmund, King of the East Angles,² is told at much greater length than in any other historian. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not even mention, though Henry of Huntingdon does, that the King was tied to a tree and shot. The source from which Gaimar obtained his account of the King's equivocal answer to the Danes is not known. It does not appear in any printed life of St. Eadmund,³ but may have been current in the country.

The story of Eadgar's marriage with Ælfthrythe is also told at much greater length, the bare fact only being mentioned by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In this case Gaimar mentions, not, alas, by name, his authority—

Mes tant vus di, cum dit lestorie,
Richesce i out e grant baldorie.⁴

This *estorie* seems to have extended to the next King's reign, for the murder of King Eadward, Eadgar's son, in A.D. 978,⁵ is also narrated with much detail. The incident of the King's anger with Wulstanet the dwarf is peculiar to Gaimar, but the memory of it remains in tradition. Hearne supposed Wulstanet to be the original of Tom Thumb.⁶ Other writers ascribe the King's visit to his desire to see his brother.⁷ This is an obvious explanation, and therefore the probability is that Gaimar is here preserving a genuine tradition. The discovery of the King's remains in the marsh where it was concealed, by a ray of light falling on them, is narrated in the Hagiography, though not in the Chronicles.

¹ Acta S.S., xii. 306.

² v. 2877.

³ v. 3937.

⁴ Acta SS.; Life by Abbo, Migne, Patrol. Cursus, vol. 139; Life by Osbert de Clare, Tit.

A. viii. 83; Capgrave, Nova Legenda, f. 107.

⁵ v. 3990.

⁶ Reliquiæ Hearnianæ, p. 822.

⁷ See Acta SS., viii. 643; Capgrave, Nova Legenda, f. 116.

The account of the Danish ravages in France in A.D. 879 and the following years¹ is compiled from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and some French source. The movements of the Danish army from Cirencester to Chippenham and East Anglia come from the Chronicle, with the exception of the name of Gurmunt, which here appears to represent Guthorm, whose baptism is mentioned just before. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he "abode in East Anglia," but Gaimar makes him lead his army across the channel, confusing Guthorm and Guaramundus, who, the French accounts tell us, was leader of the heathen host.² In speaking of Guthorm's death, however, Gaimar calls him by his right name,³ though he wrongly states that he was buried at Thetford instead of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, where his tomb is still shown. The plundering of the abbeys of St. Valeri and St. Riquier in A.D. 881 is mentioned only by French writers.⁴ The fatal wound of King Louis⁵ was not received in battle, as Gaimar implies, but from being crushed by his horse against an archway when in pursuit of a young lady, *quia juvenis erat*.⁶

The arrival of the fleet at Chezy⁷ formed part of a campaign several years afterwards,⁸ but the whole story is told by Gaimar in a very confused manner, and not directly taken from any single authority which we have at present. It is not necessary to unravel the tangle here, but the reader who wishes to do so should consult M. Depping's "*Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*,"⁹ a clear but not very detailed narrative of the ravages of the Northmen on both sides of the Channel.

Another fact relating to Normandy from an unknown source is Æthelred's crossing the sea on the occasion of

¹ vv. 3262-3316.

² Dom Bouquet, viii. 273.

³ v. 3381.

⁴ *Annales Vedast.*, Dom Bouquet, viij. 81.

⁵ v. 3291.

⁶ *Annales Vedast.*, p. 82.

⁷ v. 3262.

⁸ See A. S. Chr., 887.

⁹ Livre ii., ch. 5, 6, ed. 1843.

his marriage with Emma, daughter of Duke Richard.¹ No French chronicles refer to it, nor do they mention the extent of her dowry.² The former statement was probably only another of the *Trouvère's* embellishments, but the latter must surely have been grounded on common report. The account of the same King's brother Edmund, who made war on him with the help of his father-in-law, a Welsh King, is very puzzling. An Eadmund Ætheling, who doubtless was Æthelred's brother, died some years before, and was buried at Romsey,³ but there is nothing in the Welsh Chronicles or English either to connect him with Wales or to explain this passage.

Lappenberg, indeed, pointed out⁴ a passage in the history of Theoderic the Monk of Drontheim, about S. Olaf reconciling Æthelred to his brothers, which might seem to refer to the same event;⁵ but as the next sentence speaks of Æthelred being driven into perpetual exile by Cnut, its authority is clearly not of much weight.

Gaimar mentions this shadowy Edmund again as helping his nephew Eadmund Ironside and being buried at Hereford.⁶ Nothing, however, is known about him at the cathedral there, whose Saxon saint is Ethelbert of East Anglia. Mr. Woodward, too, in referring to this Edmund, speaks of "Gaimar's unsupported assertion," and evidently does not believe it.⁷

The fortunes of Eadmund's sons⁸ when driven from their native country are also told at great length, and there is no earlier account extant on which the story is based. It is not altogether accurate, as Cnut was hardly five

¹ v. 4125.

² Winecestre en drunre li donat, Rogingham e Rotelant, v. 4138. Rockingham was part of the dowry of the Queen in later times.

³ A. S. Ch., 972 (970).

⁴ England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, 150, n., 3.

⁵ Reconciliavit Adalredum fratribus suis et ut in Regem sublimitur, obtinuit. Langebek, Rer. Danic. Scriptores, v. 323.

⁶ v. 4218.

⁷ Hist. of Wales, 204.

⁸ v. 4566.

and twenty when he became King of England, and could not therefore have had two sons ruling in Denmark.¹ His son Sweyn did succeed him there eventually, and hence the mistake. But the main difference between the accounts of Gaimar and Florence is that the latter says that the children were sent away to be killed, while Gaimar says that they were carried off by a friend to save their lives. Foreign writers² know of their sojourn in Hungary and Russia, but not of the previous circumstances.

The death of Cenwulf of Mercia at Basingwerk³ is a statement the source of which is not known, but the burial of Swegen at York,⁴ though not in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, is confirmed by, or derived from, Simeon of Durham,⁵ who wrote some years earlier than Gaimar, and also in a measure by the *Encomium Emmae*,⁶ when narrating the embarkation of the Danish king's corpse for his last voyage across the North Sea.

The sharers of Alfred's victories over the Danes, Ceolmer, Chude, and Chilman,⁷ are probably not fictitious names, though we cannot verify them. Chude may be either Hudda or Tudda, both of which names occur as witnesses of charters of Æthelwulf,⁸ and Chilman, Ceolmund, or Cialmund. Both an abbot and a thane of this name are found in connexion with King Alfred.⁹

The description of the infernal machine which caused the death of Eadmund Ironside is peculiar to Gaimar. Henry of Huntingdon¹⁰ speaks of Eadric's son as the murderer, while William of Malmesbury¹¹ is more vague.

¹ v. 4566.

² Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, iii. 305, quoted in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. ix., p. 3.

³ v. 2239.

⁴ v. 4162.

⁵ *Gesta Regum*, ii. 146. (*Rolls ed.*)

⁶ *Assumptio corpore Sveni Regis*

U 51689.

sua in patria sepulti. Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script.*, 167.

⁷ v. 3168.

⁸ *Kemble*, ii. 18, 35.

⁹ *Kemble*, ii. 96, 122.

¹⁰ p. 186, *Rolls ed.*

¹¹ *Gesta Regum*, i. p. 217, *Rolls ed.*

The punishment of Eadric by Cnut in person is also an additional fact; and the detail of holding the victim's forelock while his head is severed is interesting. In the north of Europe until the last century, when executions were performed with a sword on a criminal seated in a chair, the head was held in this way, as may be seen in contemporary engravings. I should be inclined to respect Gaimar's authority here. There is an air of truth about his narrative. He knew that a Dane used an axe, for instance. Besides, in the story about Cnut and the waves, Henry of Huntingdon places the scene "in littore maris,"¹ while Gaimar describes it as happening on the banks of the Thames near Westminster Abbey. I think everyone will agree that the latter version is more likely to be correct. Huntingdon's phrase is a natural amplification for any one to make in re-telling the story if no place was specified to him, and the waves of the sea are more impressive than the tide of the river, so that I think there can be no doubt that Gaimar's version is founded on fact. About this period Gaimar becomes much more minute in his narration, as in the account of the duel between Cnut and Eadmund, where the equipment of the champions is catalogued.² The *chaucés de fer* is an anachronism due to the poet's imagination, as the Hon. H. A. Dillon, one of our best authorities on armour, has pointed out. In the middle of the next century, Gaimar's own time, they became

¹ p. 189.

² The A. S. Chr. and Florence speak only of a meeting. The *Encomium Emmæ* and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, 217), of a combat refused by Cnut, while Henry of Huntingdon and Ailred of Rievaulx (*Twysden*, 363) speak of the fight as begun, the latter adding evidently imaginary details.

In the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, vol. v., p. 169, there is a paper on the subject by Mr. Hogg, in which the author does not sufficiently discriminate between the different value of the authorities he quotes. See also a note by Mr. Earle in his edition of the A. S. Chr., p. 340.

common, but in the Bayeux tapestry only a few of the most important personages among the Normans, as William and Odo, and none of the English, wear such armour on their legs, and sixty years before that they were probably unknown. The speeches of Marleswain, Siward, and the earls at the Witenagemote which restored the banished Godwine are likewise, no doubt, imaginative,¹ like the speech of Waltheof in Orderic;² but like the *chaucés de fer* just mentioned they show us what might be the course of procedure in such cases in the poet's own time. The presence of *li quens Lewine* (Earl Leofwine) betrays the historical inaccuracy. It must be meant for the father of Earl Leofric, who had been dead some time.

The account of Earl Tostig's piratical descents on the kingdom of his brother Harold in 1066³ is slightly different to that of any other writer. The names of Wardstane and Brunemue as places which were harried by his men are in Gaimar only, but Simeon of Durham⁴ agrees with him in giving Fulford as the "campstede" where Tostig defeated Edwin and Morkere, both historians being connected with the northern parts of England and therefore perhaps using a common authority. That Gaimar drew information from a northern source is clear also from his insertion of the comet of A.D. 1067⁵ as being visible in Northumberland. It is not mentioned by writers in other parts of England, nor indeed by Simeon.

The Battle of Hastings is but briefly narrated by Gaimar, with the exception of the picturesque incident of the commencement of the combat by Taillefer, on which the poet dwells at considerable length.

¹ vv. 4940, et seqq.

² Prevost's ed., ii. 261.

³ vv. 5160 et seqq.

⁴ p. 180.

⁵ v. 5371.

Wace tells us that as the Minstrel Knight rode forth from the Norman ranks he sang

“ De Karlemaine et de Rollant
E d’ Oliver e des vassals
Ki morurent en Renchevals.”¹

but says nothing of his juggling performance.

A French Chronicle in the Barberini Library at Rome says that “Talifer avant que les Cheveyntayngnes des batayllies fussent venus, jowa deuant le rey de Engleterre ou deus espees que il geta ca e la. E cum tuz fussent de cel in enpoweri, il tuwa celuy que porta la baner le rey de Engleterre; autre feiz fist il ceo, e a la terce feiz fust il tuwe limemes.”²

The only other writers³ who do mention this say that it was his sword which he threw up and caught, and not his lance, as Gaimar says. Wace, however, speaks of him as killing an enemy with his lance before he used his sword, and certainly in the Bayeux Tapestry the Norman horsemen, except William and Odo, all appear to be armed with a lance at the beginning of the combat, so that Gaimar is more likely to be right than wrong.

Reign of
William I.

In the whole reign of William I. it is the occurrences which concern the north and east of the kingdom which seem most familiar to Gaimar. He mentions indeed, *tout court*, that the Conqueror revisited Normandy in A.D. 1067, but the other events recorded are the comet which was seen specially in Northumberland; ⁴ William’s journey north in A.D. 1067, where Gaimar magnifies the giving up of the keys of the city and hostages by the men of York⁵ into a treacherous capture by the Conqueror; ⁶ the

¹ v. 13162.

² There is a copy of this Chronicle among the Rymer Transcripts, vol. clviii., pt. 2, p. 193.

³ Henry of Huntingdon and the *Carmen de Bello Hastingsensi*, as-

cribed to Guy of Amiens. The latter should have been added to the note in vol. ii., p. 167.

⁴ v. 5360.

⁵ Orderic (*Le Prévost*), ii. 185.

⁶ vv. 5380–5404.

Danish invasion and the taking of York in A.D. 1069; the story of Hereward; William's visit to Scotland; and the revolt of Ralf, Earl of Norfolk and Roger, Earl of Hereford and Waltheof. The invasion by Harold's sons¹ is evidently supposed by Gaimar to have been in the north, and not in Somerset, as he treats it as the immediate prelude to the taking of York, either that by Eadgar Ætheling in Jan. 1069, or the later and more striking success of Waltheof and the Danes in September of the same year.

Durham Castle² was not built, according to Simeon, immediately after the insurrection in Yorkshire, but after the King's return from his expedition in Scotland in 1072, which Gaimar mentions later.³

In his account of the invasion by Asbiorn and his nephews, Gaimar quite omits the southern part, the unsuccessful attacks on Dover and Sandwich,⁴ following in this respect his usual authority, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with which Florence⁵ also agrees.

He also speaks of the murder of Bishop Walchere at Durham as if it had occurred during the Danish invasion, and not some years afterwards, placing it before the meeting of Morkere and Ægelwine at Ely, and William's expedition to Scotland, which in truth preceded it.

But the incident in William I.'s reign which more Hereward. than all stirs Gaimar's muse is the gallant defence of the Isle of Ely by Hereward and his subsequent exploits as an outlaw. The historical aspect of the legend has been so thoroughly discussed by Mr. Freeman,⁶ that

¹ v. 5405. For the third brother, Magnus, mentioned by Florence of Worcester, Gaimar substitutes Tostig, son of Sweyn.

² v. 5425.

³ v. 5711.

⁴ Ord. Vit. (Prevost), ii. 191.

⁵ v. 5438. It should be "the peasants came to join them," evidently taken from the phrase in the A. S. Chr., 1070, "þe land fole comen him ongean, and griðedon wið hine."

⁶ Norman Conquest, iv. 804.

there is no need to insist here upon the inconsistencies and impossibilities which render it so difficult to separate the true from the false.

In addition to the brief notice in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Latin *Gesta Herwardi*, which professes to have been compiled from an English life written by Hereward's priest, Leofric, and which, as we gather from the *Liber Eliensis*, was compiled by Richard, a monk of Ely, has been the source from which nearly all subsequent writers ¹ have derived their information. This, in some instances, is quite apparent from the words used. Gaimar, however, is quite independent of the *Gesta*. He knows nothing of Hereward till the revolt of Ely, nothing of his parentage, nothing of his first wife, Turfrida, but he tells us, what the *Gesta* does not, of his accompanying William to Maine in 1073, and of his death in England at the hands of the Normans after he had made peace with the Conqueror. The Hyde Chronicle ² also mentions his violent death, and besides, a feat, not celebrated either by Gaimar or Richard, the capture of a castle by gaining admission to the chapel as a pretended corpse on a bier ready for burial. Another account ³ says that Hugh de Ewermoth, ⁴ Hereward's son-in-law, who is not mentioned either in the *Gesta* or by Gaimar, was his slayer, but the MS. containing this account is much later and of no independent authority. The writer of the *Gesta* speaks of seeing himself, and of the person to whom he sends his book seeing likewise, ⁵ some of Hereward's companions, probably in extreme old age, crippled by the brutality of Norman punishments. In 1139 ⁶ there was a hermit

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, the pseudo Ingulf, John of Brompton, Simeon of Durham, Ralf de Diceto, Waverley Annals, the Book of Hyde, John of Peterborough, Hugo Candidus. The last two no doubt had Peterborough traditions to rely upon.

² Rolls ed., p. 295.

³ Cott. Ch., xiii. 9.

⁴ A benefactor of Bec Abbey. Tanner, Not. Mon., 268.

⁵ vol. i., p. 340.

⁶ Dugd., Mon. Angl., v. 418; Harl. Ch., 51 C. 1.

living in Leicestershire of the same name (Outi) as one of Hereward's comrades. There is nothing to show that he is the same man, but it is not impossible, and if so, he may well have been Gaimar's informant. Living so near the time, it is remarkable that the writer of the *Gesta* should have been ignorant of how his hero met his death, unless, indeed, he simply used the material left by Leofric, who may, of course, have died before Hereward. Out of seven names of Hereward's companions given by Gaimar, five also occur in the *Gesta*.¹ It is worth noticing here that the way the names are recounted by the writer of the *Gesta* is some confirmation of the truth of the statement in his preface about the sources of his work. It is quite clear that the names have been copied from two separate lists, in which some names are repeated, and the compiler has not taken the trouble to notice this, and to omit those which he had already written down.

In the reign of William II., as in that of his father, William Rufus. it is only a few of the most striking incidents that are mentioned, and even for these, although so near his own time, Gaimar was, as he tells us himself,² indebted to written testimony as well as to what he heard from old people with whom he came in contact.

The principal events which he records are William's war in Le Maine, the conspiracy of Robert of Mowbray, and the King's death in the New Forest.

The campaign in Le Maine is told very briefly. The "crossing the sea"³ was in November 1097, but the next two lines, according to Orderic,⁴ cover a period of seven months, it being June before the army marched from Alençon. Nor did the King tarry till he took the city, but raised the siege in July, and a month later returned and entered Le Mans, not as a successful

¹ pp. 371, 373.

² v. 5712.

³ v. 5784.

⁴ vol. iv., p. 45.

besieger, but in consequence of a peaceful agreement with Fulk, Count of Anjou. The subsequent recapture of the town, which brought William back across the Channel, took place in the summer of 1099, and though it is possible that Geoffrey Martel may have been with the army, it was not he, but Helias de la Flèche, who was in command of it. Geoffrey, who was betrothed to Helias' daughter, had been put in command of Le Mans by his father, Fulk le Réchin, Count of Anjou, during the captivity of Helias the previous year.¹ This may have been in Gaimar's mind when he wrote this line. Orderic does not mention Geoffrey's presence on either occasion. Gaimar also differs from Orderic² in saying that the news of the capture of Le Mans came to William at Brockenhurst, instead of at Clarendon. The places are about 20 miles apart, and the discrepancy is easily explained by supposing that the King's head-quarters during his hunting expedition were at Clarendon, but that the news was brought to him while away from home and camping out in the Forest. Matthew Paris³ in one of his two versions mentions the Forest, but in the other ignores it, and rather implies that the scene took place in the palace, adding, in direct contradiction to Gaimar, that the messenger would not wait until the King's meal was ended.

William's landing place after his adventurous journey is said by Gaimar to have been Barfleur; in which Wace follows him. This port was constantly used by the Anglo-Norman Kings, and therefore, no doubt, inserted by the two poets, but the credit of Orderic's account⁴ of the King's arrival at the mouth of the Touques and his ride on the curé's mare to Bonneville sur Touques is in no way impaired by this disagreement.

¹ Mabillon, *Vetera Aunlecta*, 313.

² vol. iv. 58.

³ Chron. Maj., ii. 111; Hist. Angl., i. 166.

⁴ iv. 58.

The interview between William and his prisoner Helias is also put out of its proper place. It took place in Aug. 1098.¹ So far from the King giving back Le Mans to Helias, it was only taken by him a year after by force, and the poet is not much truer to character than to fact. William of Malmesbury's explanation of the King letting Helias go, that he was *præ furore extra se positus*, is far more consistent with Rufus' temper than that he

“prent a rire,
Par bel amur et nient par ire.”²

And Orderic's epithet of *turgidus rex* does not connote good humour. Gaimar, again, says nothing of Helias' offer to serve the King, and the only speech put into his mouth is more in the nature of a threat. Wace follows Gaimar in his false chronology, and in the main in his account of the interview, though the Whitsuntide Court at the new Hall at Westminster, which Gaimar describes at such length, is also postdated a year. The real date was A.D. 1099, just before the King's victorious campaign in Le Maine. It is impossible to say whence Gaimar derives his amusing details of what took place there, and the dispute between the Kings of Wales and the Normans as to carrying the swords, and he does not mention what, though only resting on a single testimony, is probably true, that Eadgar, King of Scotland, bore one of the swords.³ Nor, being a Norman, is there any echo in his verses of the complaint of the oppressed English, who had to minister to the pride and luxury of a tyrannical King.

The revolt of Robert of Mowbray really preceded the events which in Gaimar's verse it succeeds, Bamburgh being taken in November 1095. The new castle⁴ men-

¹ Ord. Vit., iv. 51.

² v. 5943.

U 51689.

³ Annales Wintoniæ in Annales Monastici, ii. 40.

⁴ v. 6150.

tioned as being built by the King must be the Malvoisin which he erected to overawe the defenders of Bamburgh, and must not be confused with the new castle, which was taken by the King early in the campaign.¹ Mowbray's flight by sea to Tynemouth is a detail not given elsewhere. There are two versions of his subsequent fate, that he died in imprisonment, and that he became a monk in St. Albans, and Gaimar clearly supports the former.

In connexion with the death of the Red King, Gaimar mentions two circumstances of which other historians know little. The first is the *Gab* of Walter Tirel and the King, which is introduced as suggesting some motive for the subsequent tragedy. Walter begins by magnifying the King's power, and then chaffing him for making no use of it. The King replies at once by more *Gab*, that he is going to lead an army to the Alps and keep Christmas at Poitiers. The fact was that the Count of Poitiers was going to mortgage his county to him for the expenses of the crusade,² and the visit might therefore have been one of peace, but Tirel took it, as the King no doubt meant him to, as a threat of war, and Gaimar hints, determined on his death.

There had already been a plot to murder the King in a similar way five years before.³

The King's death is minutely described as happening in the sight of his companions, who said that the arrow which struck him came from Walter's bow. Instead of fleeing at once, as other accounts say, the hunters give the dying King some grass as a substitute for the sacrament⁴

¹ Freeman, Will. II., ii. 46.

² W. Malms. Gesta Regum, ii. 510.

³ Freeman, Will. II., ii. 45.

⁴ Benvenuto Cellini tells us that the same thing was done to him when knocked over by a shot during the siege of Rome. On coming to, he

says, "volendo cominciare a parlare, non potevo, perche certi scioocchi soldatelli, mi avevano piena la bocca di terra, parendo loro con quella di avermi dato la comunione." Vita di B. Cellini in Classici Italiani, vol. 142, p. 123.

which he demands, and bitterly bewail his loss.¹ The corpse is carried to Winchester, not in a common cart covered with dirty cloths,² but on a carefully constructed bier suspended between two horses and covered with the new cloak of one of his servants. The corpse is watched by a Bishop Walkelin and buried with due pomp, instead of being hurried into the ground with less ceremony than would have accompanied the funeral of the poorest person.³

The presence of Walkelin is clearly an error, as he was already dead, but that mistake alone is scarcely enough to discredit the whole story, if for other reasons it were credible, but, as Mr. Freeman says, "it is absolutely impossible to believe it in the teeth of opposite statements of so much higher authority."⁴

The story is of a piece with Gaimar's entire conception of William's character. He extols his *magnanimitas* and his prodigal liberality to his immediate circle of followers, and in some cases to his enemies of the higher ranks, but says not a word of his many vices.

Many of the notes to the translation, as well as what is said in this preface, are based on the works of previous editors of Geffrei Gaimar, and on the writings of historians who have treated of this period, more especially Lappenberg's "England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," and Freeman's Histories of the Norman Conquest, and of the reign of William II. It has been impossible to acknowledge in a footnote to every sentence the source whence the information therein was derived, but none the less I am conscious of and wish

¹ Orderic tells us the kind of folk who acted thus: Stipendiarii milites, et nebulones ac vulgaria scorta.

² Orderic, iv. 89; W. Malms. Gesta Regum, Lib. iv. § 333.

³ Ord. Vit., iv. 90.

⁴ Will. II., ii. 660.

to acknowledge my obligations to previous workers in the same field, as well as to my official colleagues and other friends for ready assistance whenever requested.

For the list of books and for the index I am indebted to my daughter, Miss M. T. Martin.

Dec. 1888.

C. T. M.

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRING TO GAIMAR AND HAVELOCK.

Monumenta Historica Britannica, pp. 91, 764; Publications of the Caxton Society, Vol. II.; Church Historians of England, Vol. II., part II., p. xxi. 729; Michel's *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, Vol. I.; Michel's *Rapports sur les anciens Monumens de la littérature et de l'histoire de la France*, I., 44, 194, 244; Roquefort's *De l'Etat de la Poésie Française*, pp. 68, 82-4; Duval, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xiii. 63, xviii. pp. 731, 738; De La Rue, *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes*, iii. 104, 120; Frère, *Manuel de Bibliographie Normande*; Vienna, *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Vol. lxxvi., p. 266; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1857. Vol. II., p. 21; *Archæologia*, Vol. XII., pp. 307-312; Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, IV. 485, 486, 806, V. 99, 581, 824; William II., II. 660; Parker's *Early History of Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society), pp. 123, 126, 161, 180, 325; Johann Vising, *Étude sur le Dialecte Anglo-Normand du xii. siècle*; Lappenberg's *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*; Pluquet's *Mémoire sur les Trouvères Normands in Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, I., 375 n., 414-6.; Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, I. 36, 40, 43, 88; Woodward's *History of Wales*, 200, 204; Madden's *Havelock the Dane*, Roxburgh Club; *The Lay of Havelock the Dane*. Edited by Rev. W. Skeat for the Early English Text Society; *Le Lai d'Havelok le Danois*. Edited by F. Michel; H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the MSS. Department of the British Museum*, pp. 423, 496, 940; Romania, IX. 480; Kupferschmidt, "Die Havelok-Sage bei Gaimar und ihr Verhalten "zum lai d'Havelok;" Ludorff, *Ueber die Sprache des Alten Englischen Lay*, "Havelock the Dane," 4; Sir T. D. Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS.* II. 86, 245, III. 241, 300, 362.

ERRATA.

- Vol. I., p. 1, *for* "I" *read* "[C] I."
- " v. 27, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " v. 532, and note, *for* "Argentele" *read* "Argentelete."
- " v. 556, *after* "ruant" *dele* comma.
- " vv. 798-800, add inverted commas.
- " v. 822, *dele* comma *after* "Laltre."
- " v. 1076, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " v. 1211, *for* "Le" *read* "Li."
- " v. 1224, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " v. 1400, *for* "vallees" *read* "valees."
- " v. 1640, *dele* fullstop.
- " v. 1778, n., *for* "mestre" *read* "estre."
- " v. 2117, n., *for* "Colesdeburch" *read* "Colesdebure."
- " v. 2532, *after* "fiz," *dele* comma.
- " v. 2671, *for* "e" *read* "le."
- " v. 2893-4, add inverted commas.
- " v. 4282, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " v. 4598, *dele* fullstop.
- " v. 4599, *for* comma *substitute* fullstop.
- " v. 5575, text and translation, *after* "Alueriz" *dele* comma.
- " v. 5580, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " v. 5661, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " v. 5715, *dele* fullstop.
- " v. 6320, the numbers of the verses in the margin are wrong from
this point to p. 277.
- " p. 280, v. 46, add fullstop.
- " p. 281, v. 72, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " " v. 79, add fullstop.
- " p. 285, v. 180, n., *for* "tresqual" *read* "tresquen."
- " " v. 190, add fullstop.
- " " v. 191, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " p. 289, v. 280, *dele* comma.
- " p. 290, v. 6, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " " v. 7, *for* comma *substitute* fullstop.
- " p. 297, v. 288, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
- " p. 314, v. 908, add fullstop.
- " p. 322, *for* "370" *read* "369."
- " p. 376, l. 20, *for* "ipsis" *read* "ipsius."
- Vol. II., v. 556, *for* "Havelock" *read* "Haveloc."
- " v. 1258, n., *for* "534" *read* "634."
- " v. 1260, n., *for* "564" *read* "634."
- " v. 1296, *for* "book" *read* "writing."
- " p. 65, *for* "2500" *read* "2005."

- Vol. II., v. 2117, *for* "Coldesdeburch" *read* "Colesdebure."
- " v. 2387, *for* "who chased Offa" *read* "whom Offa drove out."
- " v. 4265, *for* "steel" *read* "iron."
- " p. 155, *for* "5895" *read* "4895."
- " v. 5408, n., *for* "Swegen III," *read* "Swegen II."
- " " *for* "1046" *read* "1048."
- " v. 5438, *for* "against" *read* "to join."
- " v. 6140, this verse is, I think, corrupt. *Maimis*, *Mawmis*, may mean *mutilated* (*cæcatus et extesticulatus*), which, according to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, II., 501), was his fate.
- " v. 6191, *for* "kingdom" *read* "land."
-

HERE BEGINNETH
THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH
ACCORDING TO
THE TRANSLATION OF
MASTER GEOFFREY GAIMAR.

HERETOFORE in the former book,
If you remember it,
You have heard how perfectly
Constantine held the dominion after Arthur;
And how Iwain was made king 5
Of Murray and of Lothian.
But afterwards he fared right ill.
All their best kindred died,
And the Saxons spread themselves,
Who had come with Cerdic, 10
From the Humber as far as Caithness.
Modred the king had given it to them,
So they seized, and wholly occupied
The land which once Hengist held.
This they claimed as their heritage, 15
For Hengist was of their lineage.

1. M. Vising suggests that the former book means Wace's Brut, but Wace does not say that Muref and Loeneis were given to Iwain, but Scotland (Brut, ii. 226). Geoffrey of Monmouth (ix. 9) says that Mureif was given to Urien, Iwain's father, and "Loudonesia" to Lot his brother.

Behold the occasion,
 By which the Britons came into great trouble,
 So did the Scots and Picts,
 The Welsh and the Cymri. 20
 Such war the outlandish folk made,
 Britain came to great grief.
 The English every day increased,
 For they often came from over sea.
 Those from Saxony and Almain 25
 Joined their company
 For the sake of Dan Hengist, their ancestor,
 The others made them lords.
 Every-day as they conquered
 From the English, they explored the land. 30
 The land which they went on conquering,
 They called it England.
 Behold a cause
 By which Britain lost its name.
 And the nephews of Arthur reigned, 35
 Who warred against the English.

Here Bri-
 tain lost its
 name and
 was called
 England.

BUT the Danes hated them much,
 Because of their kindred, who had died
 In the battles which Arthur fought
 Against Modret, whom he afterwards slew. 40
 If that is true that Gildas said
 In the Geste, he found written
 That there were two kings formerly in Britain
 When Constantine was chief.
 This Constantine was the nephew of Arthur, 45
 Who had the sword Calibure.
 One of the kings had for his name Adelbrit.
 He was a rich man, also he was a Dane.

King
 Adelbrit
 Norfolk.

35. By the nephews of Arthur, Gaimar probably means Aurelius Conan, nephew of Constantine, and Vortiporius. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. xi. caps. 5 and 6; Brut, v. 13,740.

47. The names Adelbrit and Edelsi do not occur in Gildas.

The other had for his name Edelsie.	
His were Lincoln and Lindsey.	50
From the Humber to Rutland	
The land was under his command.	King Edelsie. Lincoln and Lind- sey.
The other was king of the country,	
Which is now called Norfolk.	
These two kings were so united,	55
That they were sworn companions,	
And between them two was such love	
That Edelsi gave his sister	
To Adelbrit, that rich king,	
Who was of the lineage of the Danes.	60
The other king was a Briton,	
Who had the name of Edelsi,	
His sister was named Orwain.	Queen Or- wain.
Very noble was she, and bountiful.	
By her lord she had a daughter,	65
Whom they called Argentille.	The daughter Argentille.
The maid grew and throve,	
For her nurse was sufficient for her.	
So it came to pass, in all truth,	
That her father had no other heir.	70
In the kingdom of Denmark	
He had four rich earldoms,	
And in Britain he had conquered	
Cair Coel with all the country.	
From Colchester as far as Holland	75
His kingdom extended in the hands of one holder.	
As long as he was so powerful.	
Edelsi was his good friend,	
But then it happened that Adelbrit died	
In the city of Thetford.	80
He was carried to Colchester,	Adelbrit the King dies.
There was this king buried.	

And Orewain and Argentille,
 That is his queen and his daughter,
 Went away to Lindsey 85
 To her brother, king Edelsie.
 The kingdom that Adelbrict held
 They delivered to him, that it might be guarded,
 For the queen was sick,
 Nor did she live twenty days more 90
 After Albrict. When she came to her end
 They buried the queen,
 And Argentille was brought up
 At Lincoln and in Lindsey.
 As old folk say, 95
 She had no near kinsman
 On the side of her father, of the Danes.
 Hear what this felon king did,
 For the inheritance which he coveted
 He mismarried his niece. 100
 He gave her to a lad,
 Who was named Cuheran.
 Because he wished to abase her
 He bethought himself that he would give her to him.
 THIS Cuheran was a cook, 105
 But he was a very handsome youth.
 A fine face he had and beautiful hands,
 His body was graceful, sweet and smooth,
 His countenance was always cheerful,
 Good legs he had and good feet. 110
 But because he was bold,
 And willingly fought,
 There was no groom in the house.
 If he played with him,
 And began to hustle him, 115
 That he did not upset him with his legs in the air.
 And if he was very angry,
 He tied him with his belt,

This
 Cuheran
 was Have-
 loc.

And if the other had no protection,
He would beat him well with a rod. 120
And yet he was so frank,
If the groom promised him
That for this he would not love him less,
He would instantly untie him.
When they had embraced each other, 125
Then was Cuheran pleased,
And the king and the knights
Gave him of their meat,
Some gave him cakes,
Some quarters of simnels, 130
Others gave him pieces of meat and fowl
Which came to them from the kitchens,
So that he had so much food and provision
That he had two servants with him.
And to the servants of the house, 135
He often gave great gifts
Of simnels and of biscuits,
Of meat and of cakes.
For this he was so well loved,
And so valued and so praised 140
That there was no freeman in the house,
If Cuheran wished for a gift.
But he would willingly give it him,
But he did not care for gain.
To give whatever he had, 145
This was his way, at that time,
And when he had nothing to give,
He was ready to go and borrow.
Then he gave it, and spent it.
What he borrowed, he repaid well. 150
When he had anything he gave it all,
But asked no one for anything.
Thus, he was in the house
Scullion to a cook.

There were two servants whom he kept.	155
Listen, Lords, why he did so.	
He thought they were his brothers,	
But his father was not theirs,	
Nor his mother, nor his lineage.	
Nor was he of their rank.	160
Although he was of such low estate,	
He had come of gentle blood,	
And if the King had known it,	
I think he would never have had his niece.	
Of whom he was born, he did not know,	165
He made him his juggler.	
IN order to gain the land of Albricht	
He caused his niece to lie with him ;	
The daughter of the king in a poor bed.	
Now it is needed that God should help,	170
For the king has done great cruelty	
For covetousness of this kingdom,	
Since, to have the kingdom for himself.	
He disgraced his niece, as he hoped,	
And gave her to his cook,	175
Who was named Cuheran.	
He did not know what woman was,	
Nor what he ought to do.	
Directly he came to bed,	
He lay on his face and went to sleep.	180
ARGENTILLE was in great thought,	
Why he lay so on his face,	
And wondered much	
That he never turned towards her	
And would not approach her,	185
As a man should do to his wife.	
The niece complained to the king ;	
Often she chid her uncle	
That he had so disinherited her,	
And given her to such a man ;	190

Until it happened on a night,
That they for the first time took their pleasure
together.

After that they fell asleep
Much they loved each other and rejoiced.

THE king's daughter, in her sleep
Dreamt that she was with Cuherant
Between the sea and a thicket,
Haunted by a savage bear.
Towards the sea she saw come
Pigs and boars, eager to attack
This great bear, which was so fierce,
That it wanted to devour Cuheran.
With the bear were many foxes,
Who had been in danger since day.
For the boars attacked them ;
Destroyed and killed many of them.
When the foxes were destroyed,
A single boar, fierce and bold,
Attacked this bear, who was making such noise,
Alone, body to body,
And struck it with its tusk
So that he cut its heart in two.

195 Argen-
tille's
dream.

200

205

210

WHEN the bear found himself wounded to death
It gave a cry, then lay still,
And the foxes came running
From all sides towards Cuherant ;
Their tails between their legs
Their heads bowed, and on their knees,
They made show of begging mercy
Of Cuheran on whom they had made war.
When he had made them all rise,
He wished to go towards the sea.
The great trees that were in the wood,
Saluted him on all sides.
The sea rose and the waves came.

215

220

225

So that he could not keep in the wood.
The wood fell, the sea came,
Cuheran was in a great strait.
Then came two lions.
They fell upon their knees, 230
But they killed many of the beasts
In the wood, who were in their way.
Cuherant, for fear which he had,
Climbed on one of the great trees
And the lions came on 235
Towards the tree, kneeling.
Through all the wood was such a great cry
That the lady awoke,
And, as she had had such a dream,
Hugged her lord tight. 240
She found him lying on his back.
Between her arms she held him close.
For fear she opened her eyes.
She saw a flame which issued
Forth from her husband's mouth 245
Who was still fast asleep.
She marvelled at the sight,
At her husband's mouth,
And at the flame which she saw.
Now hearken what she said: 250
 "Sir," said she, "you are on fire,
 " Wake, if it please you
 " From your mouth there comes a flame.
 I know not who put it there,"
So she embraced him and drew him to her, 255
That he woke and said, "Why,
 " Why have you woke me, sweet love,
 " Why are you frightened"?
Much he prayed her, much he coaxed her
That she told him all, declared to him 260
About the flame, and the vision
Which she had seen of her husband.

Cuheran replied,
 Of the vision which he heard from her,
 According to his wit, he explained the dream, 265
 Though he said, all was deceit.
 " Lady," he said, " this will be well.
 " Both for your good, and for mine.
 " This then is my opinion, what this can be ;
 " The king will hold his feast to-morrow ; 270
 " Many of his barons will be there.
 " Stags, and roes, and venison,
 " And other meat there will be so much,
 " And in the kitchen so much will remain,
 " We will take so much in serving, 275
 " I will make the squires plenty
 " Of good bacon and brawn,
 " From the barons' dishes.
 " The squires are obliging to me
 " Both at evening and morning. 280
 " This is what the foxes mean,
 " Of which you dreamt ; this is what they are.
 " And the bear is dead ; he was killed yesterday ;
 " He was taken wild in a wood.
 " Two bulls there are for the lions, 285
 " And for the sea, we take the caldrons
 " Where the water rises as a sea,
 " Until cold makes it cease.
 " The flesh of bulls will be cooked in it.
 " Lady, the vision is told." 290
 ARGENTILLE, when she heard this, said
 " Yet tell me more, Sir.
 " How that fire can be explained
 " Which I saw burning in your mouth ?"
 " Lady," he said " I know not what it should be, 295
 " But sleeping it escaped me.
 " While I sleep, it seizes my mouth.
 " I feel nothing of the flame.

“ Truly I am much ashamed of it,
“ That it happens to me while I sleep.” 300
Said Argentille, “ In my opinion,
“ We are here in dishonour,
“ Better were we in exile
“ Amongst strangers, and worse off,
“ Than to dwell here in such shame. 305
“ Love, where is thy family?”
“ Lady,” he said, “ at Grimsby.
“ Thence I departed when I came here.
“ If I find not my kindred there,
“ Under Heaven I know not whence I was born. 310
“ LOVE,’ she said, “ then let us go thither,
“ To see if we shall ever find them there.
“ No man but I [ever] loved thee
“ Or gave us better counsel.”
Said Cuheran, “ My love, 315
“ Be it wisdom, or be it folly,
“ I will do what you wish.
“ I will take you there if you think fit.”
They lay all night, until clear day.
On the morrow they go to their lord : 320
They came to the king, they asked leave,
When he heard it, he was glad,
All laughing he gave it them,
To all his men he joked about it,
And said “ If they are a little hungry, 325
“ On the third day, or to-morrow,
“ They will set themselves to return,
“ When they can do nothing better.”
Now they go to Grimsby.
There they find a good friend. 330
A fisher he was, he lived there.
He had for his wife the daughter of Grim.
WHEN he recognised the three young men
Cuheran and the two sons of Grim,

- And he knew about the king's daughter . 335
 - - - - in the law
 - - - in his courage
 He said to his wife, who was very wise,
 "Wife," said he, "what shall we do?"
 "If you think fit, we will discover, 340
 "To Haveloc, the king's son,
 "Our counsel, and the secret.
 "Let us tell him quite openly,
 "Of whom he was born and of what people."
 Said the wife, "If he knew it, 345
 "I think he would discover it,
 "By his folly in such a place,
 "That great harm would soon come to him from it.
 "He is not so wise
 "As to know how to hide his ambition. 350
 "If he knew that he was sprung from kings
 "For a short time would it be concealed,
 "And still, let us call him now,
 "Let us ask him of whom he is born,
 "And let his wife come with him. 355
 "We can well tell him I think,
 "Of whom he was born, and of what country,
 "And how he was exiled by war,"
- THEREUPON they called Haveloc,
 And Argentille came with him, 360
 And the good man and his wife
 Began to question him right well.
 "Friend," they said, "of whom were you born,
 "In what place are thy kinsfolk?"
 "Lady," he said, "I left here 365
 "My kin, when I departed hence:
 "Thou art my sister, I am thy brother,
 "Both by father and by mother.
 "Grim was my father, a fisherman,
 "My mother was named Sebrug, his wife. 370

- " When they died, I left this place,
 " I took with me my two brothers.
 " Now we are grown up, we have come back,
 " But we do not recognise our kinsfolk,
 " Only thee, and thy husband, 375
 " I know well thou art our sister."
 Kelloc replied, " All here is otherwise.
 " Never did thy father sell salt,
 " Nor was thy mother a salter.
 " Grim sold salt, and was a fisherman. 380
 " For my brothers I thank thee much.
 " For having brought them up, I will repay you.
 " Yesterday arrived beside the port
 " A great ship good and strong.
 " Bread and flesh she brought, and wine and corn, 385
 " Of these they have great plenty.
 " Over the sea they mean to go,
 " If you will go with them
 " I think they will go to the country
 " Where your kin is and your friends, 390
 " If you will go with them
 " We can well commend them to you.
 " Cloth we will give you to trade with.
 " Also you shall take of our money,
 " And bread, and flesh, and good clear wine 395
 " To take at evening and morning.
 " Provision you shall have as much as you want,
 " You shall take your two servants with you,
 " But keep well your secret.
 " You were the son of a good king. 400
 " He had Denmark for his inheritance,
 " So had his father and his ancestry.
 " Your father was named Gunter,
 " He took to wife the daughter of king Gaifer,

403. Neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Wace mentions such a name of a Danish king whom Arthur conquered.

- “ Alvine was her name : She reared me. 405
“ Well she cared for me while she lived.
“ She brought me up. So said my mother,
“ I was the daughter of Grim, a companion of hers.
“ But it happened in your land,
“ That king Arthur came to conquer it, 410
“ For his tribute, which they withheld from him,
“ With many men he came to the land,
“ To king Gunter he seemed an enemy,
“ Near the sea he gave him battle,
“ Slain was king Gunter, 415
“ And many knights on both sides.
“ The land gave what Arthur would.
“ But the queen, because of the war,
“ Could not remain in the land,
“ So she fled with the right heir. 420
“ You are he, as I believe
“ Dan Haveloc, the king’s son.
“ My father had a right good ship,
“ He took the queen quietly away,
“ Towards this country he brought her, 425
“ When it happened, as God willed,
“ That we were met by outlaws,
“ Into the sea were hurled all
“ Our knights and our folk,
“ And the Queen also. 430
“ No man was saved but my father,
“ And no woman was saved but my mother.
“ My father was known to them,
“ Therefore the children were saved,
“ I, and you and my two brothers, 435
“ By my father’s prayer.
“ When we came to this country,
“ We cut our great ship in two,
“ For it was all broken, and damaged,
“ When the queen was killed. 440

- " Of our ship we made a house ;
 " By a boat we got our living,
 " In which our father went to fish.
 " Fish had we to eat.
 " Turbot, salmon and mullet, 445
 " Whale, porpoises and mackarel,
 " In great plenty ; and in abundance
 " We had bread and good fish.
 " The fish we exchanged for bread,
 " Men brought us in plenty. 450
 " And when we had money,
 " My father then became a salter.
 " While he lived, he and my mother
 " Nourished you well, better than my brother.
 " And I remained and took a husband. 455
 " He has kept me in great honour.
 " He was a merchant, he knew how to cross the sea.
 " He knows well how to buy and sell.
 " In Denmark was he the other day,
 " And heard many pray, 460
 " That if he found you, you should come,
 " And claim the land.
 " Truly we counsel you to go.
 " Take your two lads with you,
 " Let them be with you to serve you. 465
 " If good befall you, send us word,
 " We will follow, if you will,
 " If God gives you back your inheritance."
 SAID Haveloc and his wife.
 " We will give you a right good recompence, 470
 " We will do more than you ask,
 " If God gives us back our inheritance,
 " And the lads we will take with us,
 " By God we will think well of it."
 The lady replied : " Truly, 475
 " Here you will remain till you have a wind :

" And if I can, before you go,
 " You shall be clad in better clothes."
 They remained then, tarrying there,
 They were clothed honourably. 480
 They tarried there until the wind came,
 And then they went on board the ship,
 And Dan Alger, the merchant,
 Made the bargain for them.
 He gave them garments, he and Kelloc. 485
 For Haveloc's crew
 He stowed away enough victual for them,
 He would not have it fail for three months.
 Bread and wine and flesh and good fish,
 He put in their ship in great plenty. 490
 Directly the ship was afloat,
 The steersman was right busy.
 Two ships there were, in truth.
 They spread their sails to the wind ;
 So far have they floated and steered, 495
 That they have arrived in Denmark.
 In the country at which they landed,
 They went to a town,
 There they sought horses and carts,
 And caused their belongings to be carried thither. 500
 The merchants all returned,
 With their tackle, to the two ships,
 And Haveloc and his wife,
 Went to the town to lodge.
 THERE dwelled a rich man, 505
 Sigar Estalre was his name,
 Steward was he to king Gunter,
 And justice of his land.
 But now it was so that he kept himself quiet,
 And he hated this rich king greatly, 510

Who then was a powerful king
 Over the other folk in this land;
 On account of his lord, who was dead,
 By the power of Arthur the strong ;
 Whom he had by treason sent for, 515
 And had given him this country.

Because he was treacherous and cruel,
 Many took counsel together,
 That they should never hold with him,
 Nor take land of him, 520
 Until they knew of the right heir,
 The truth about his life or death.

This king who then was in the country,
 Was the brother of king Aschis
 Who met his death for Arthur 525
 Where Modred did him such wrong,
 His name was Odulf the king ;
 Much was he hated by his Danes.

As God willed, and chance,
 God set his (Sigar's) thoughts on Haveloc, 530
 For the sake of his wife, who was so beautiful,
 The king's daughter dame Argentele,

Six youths then attacked him,
 They took the lady, they struck him,
 And abused his servants much. 535

And in many places broke their heads.
 When they were going off with his lady,
 Dan Haveloc was enraged,
 He took a right sharp axe,
 Which he found hanging in a house, 540
 He caught in the lane the men
 Who were carrying off Dame Argentele.

524. Geoffrey of Monmouth calls him Aschillius, king of Dacia. Book
 xi. cap. 2.

Three of them he struck down, two of them he killed,
And the sixth, he cut off his hand.
He took his wife, he went to the inn. 545
Behold, a great cry, of crime.
He took his servants and his wife
And entered a minster,
He shut the doors, for fear,
Then they went up into the tower. 550
Then he had such a defence
That he never would be taken without great trouble.
For they defended themselves right well,
Wounded were those who attacked them.
When Dan Sigar came spurring. 555
He saw how Dan Havelock kept throwing
The stones, being very strong.
He had killed the five rascals,
Sigar saw it, and took counsel with himself.
Then he remembered king Gunter. 560
Directly he had recognised him,
He no longer hated him for his men.
He was so like his lord
That when he saw him he took such pity on him
That with great difficulty could he speak. 565
He made all the assault to cease,
Peace and truce he promised him,
To his hall he led him,
Him and his wife and his companions,
The two lads whom I spoke of before. 570
And when they were safe
The great man asked him
Who he was and what was his name,
And whence were his companions,
And of his lady he asked him, 575
Whence she came and who gave her to him.
“ Sir,” said he, “ I know not who I am,
“ In this country I think I was born,

- " A mariner whose name is Grim
 " Brought me thence a little lad. 580
 " To Lindsey he would go.
 " When we were on the high sea,
 " We were attacked by outlaws,
 " By whom I was so ill-treated.
 " My mother was there, she was killed. 585
 " I was saved, I know not how,
 " And the good man escaped,
 " Who reared me and loved me much.
 " He and his wife reared me,
 " And well they reared and cherished me. 590
 " When they were dead, I departed.
 " I served a king, where I went,
 " And two lads were with me,
 " As long as I was with the king.
 " I was long with him in my youth, 595
 " And this lady was one of his kin.
 " As it pleased him he gave her to me,
 " And we were married.
 " Then I came to this country,
 " And I know none of my friends, 600
 " And I do not know in truth
 " If I have one single kinsman.
 " But by the advice of a merchant
 " (He lives at Grimesby,
 " A right good man he is, his name is Alger) 605
 " He advised me, and his wife,
 " To come here and seek my friends,
 " And my kinsfolk in this land.
 " But I cannot name one,
 " Nor do I know how I can find them." 610
 Said the good man: "What is thy name?"
 "Sir, I know not," replied he,
 "But when I was in the great court,
 "They called me Cuherant,

“ And although I was a servant . 615
“ I know well that Haveloc was my name.
“ At Grimesby the other day
“ Alger called me Haveloc.
“ Now I am here, which you wish
“ Of these two names you shall call me by.” 620
SIGAR stood, and listened,
Well he remembered the king’s son,
And this name of which he spoke.
The son of Gunter had the same name.
Then he remembered another way, 625
That he saw long ago, by means of the nurse,
Of the flame which issued
From his mouth when he was sleeping.
That night he had him well watched
Where he lay by his wife. 630
Because he was very weary
With the fight, and the thoughts
Which he had had the day before,
He fell asleep, and asked no one’s [leave].
Directly he was asleep 635
From his mouth came forth the flame,
And the servants who watched him
Soon told their master.
And the goodman rose from his bed,
When he came there, he saw the flame, 640
Then knew he well that it was true,
That he had thought of him,
But so dear he had this thought
He never would tell it to his wife.
Until the morrow, when he rose. 645
Then he sent for his men,
He ordered his knights,
His footmen and pioneers,
From all sides many came.
When he had assembled many of them, 650

Then he went to speak to Haveloc.
He had him bathed and fed.
With new raiment he clothed him.
Into the hall he made him come.

WHEN he had entered the hall 655

Where he saw so many men assembled,
Great fear had he that this folk
Would do evil justice on him:
For the five men he had killed,
He thought they had assembled. 660
He went to take an axe

Which a young man there held.

He tried to seize it to defend himself.

Sigar saw him and caused him to be taken.

As they held him on all sides 665

Sigar said to him, "Fear not,

"Have no care, my friend,

"Truly I swear to you, I declare to you,

"That I love you now more than I did yesterday,

"When I placed you at my table." 670

Then he gave him a seat by his side.

He had the horn of the king brought.

This was the horn of King Gunter;

Under heaven was no knight

Who could sound that horn, 675

No hunter, no youth,

So that any one could ever hear the horn sound,

Unless the king or his rightful heir did it.

The rightful heir of Denmark

Could sound it well, truly, 680

But no other man ever sounded it;

All to no purpose laboured at it.

This horn had Sigar kept,

King Gunter had entrusted it to him.

When he had it, he could not sound it. 685

He caused it to be given to a knight,

- " Let him blow it, so that it sounds,
 " So that I know, hearing it,
 " I will give him a good ring,
 " Which at need is worth a castle; 690
 " He who hath it on his finger,
 " If he fall in the sea, shall not drown;
 " No fire can hurt him at all,
 " Nor can any weapon wound him;
 " Such as I say is this ring." 695
 Then the company came to blow the horn,
 The knights and the servants;
 It would not sound at all,
 Never for any of them would it sound.
 Then they gave it to the youth, 700
 Whom they called the prisoner,
 Whose name was Haveloc.
 WHEN he held it, he looked at it,
 And said that he had never blown a horn.
 He said to the lord, "I will let it be, 705
 " As no other man can sound it,
 " I give up all claim to your ring,
 " As so many youths have tried it."
 Sigar answered, "No, you will do it;
 " Put it to your mouth." 710
 "Sir," said he, "I do not refuse this to you;
 " By me it shall be now tried."
 Then he took the horn, and crossed it,
 At his mouth he tried it;
 Directly it touched his mouth 715
 The horn sounded, as properly
 As ever his father was erst heard [to sound it];
 No man could blow a horn so well.
 SIGAR heard it; he leapt to his feet,
 With his arms he embraced him. 720

Then he cried : " God be praised,
" Now have I found my rightful lord,
" Now have I him whom I desired,
" For whom I will wage war.
" This is the rightful heir, and the person 725
" Who ought henceforth to wear the crown."
He then sent for all his people ;
Then they did fealty.
He himself kneeled down
And promised to keep faith with him. 730
Then he sent for the barons
With whom this king had strife.
All became his men
And received him as their lord.
WHEN they had done this, they assembled men ; 735
In four days they had many hundreds,
And on the fifth day, of knights
They had well thirty thousand.
Then they defied King Edulf ;
In a plain they encountered. 740
Many great strokes were struck ;
King Edulf was then conquered.
For Haveloc bore himself so
That he alone killed more than twenty.
There were two princes in the country, 745
Who once were his enemies,
And held with Edulf ;
Now they came to his mercy.
The small folk of the country
Came for mercy likewise, 750
And Haveloc gave them pardon
By the advice of his barons.
All swore fealty to him,
The knights of the kingdom,
And the goodmen and the burgesses, 755
Made him their lord and king.

They held great feast and rejoicing,
As the true history tells us.

AFTERWARDS he called together all his ships,
All the power of his kingdom. 760

With his great host he passed the sea,
Then he defied King Edelsi.

He sent him word that he defied him
Unless he gave up to him his lady's right.
King Edelsi replied to him 765
That he would fight against him.

They fought in a plain
From morn till eve.

Many men were disabled
On both sides, and struck dead, 770

When black night separated them
Until the morrow, when day broke.

But by counsel of the queen,
Who taught him a trick,
By which he recovered the loss of the battle, 775

He gained his kingdom without more opposition.

All night he had stakes fixed in the earth,

Bigger and higher than barrels;

The dead men were fixed upon them,
And all night they set them up. 780

Two companies they made of them,
Who truly looked

As if they were fighting men, and alive.

The day before they had been killed.

Men who looked at them afar off, 785

All their flesh shuddered.

Both from far and near

Hideous appeared these unshriven corpses.

780. A similar expedient is mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus as practised by Fridlevus, king of Denmark. Lib. IV. (St.)

THE next day they prepared again,	
And set themselves in order for battle ;	790
The scouts went in front	
To see Dan Cuherant's men ;	
When they saw that he had so many,	
All their flesh shuddered at it ;	
For against one man that they had,	795
They saw seven on the other side ;	
Back they came to tell the king,	
"It is no use fighting,	
" Give up to the lady her right,	
" And make peace before it be worse."	800
The king could not help it,	
Therefore he determined to grant this,	
For so the barons advised him.	
All the kingdom was given up to him (Haveloc),	
From Holland to Colchester,	805
There King Haveloc held his feast.	
The homage of his barons	
He received through all his countries.	
Then after this, not fifteen days,	
Did king Edelsis live.	810
He had no such rightful heir	
As Haveloc and his wife.	
He had children but they were dead.	
The barons willingly granted	
That Haveloc and his friends	815
Should have king Edelsi's land.	
So then he had it. Twenty years was he king.	
Much he conquered by means of the Danes.	
THEN from the nativity [of Christ]	
Nearly full five hundred years had passed,	820

809. *quinz* is given as meaning *five* in Roquefort, but *cinc* is used by Gaimar for five. See vv. 558, 659, 820, 821.

And there were but five years to tell.
 The other Cerdic with his ship
 Arrived at Charford,
 A mound which is still visible.
 There arrived he and his son, 825
 Whom the English called Cynric.
 Horsa and Hengist were their ancestors,
 As the true chronicle tells.
 He was the son of Elessinc the king.
 This Cerdic, so he was English, 830
 And Elessinc was the son of Elese,
 - - - - -
 And Elese was the son of Esling,
 Esling, the son of Eslage, son of Wising,
 Son of Gewis, son of Wigening, 835
 Son of Wilte, brother to Winsing,
 Son of Fretewine, son of Freodagaring,
 Son of Freodegar, son of Brending,
 Son of Brand, son of Beldegging,
 Son of Beldeg, born Winhing. 840
 Beldeg was of the lineage of Woden,
 Of whose lineage Horsa and Hengist were born.
 Of their lineage were born
 Those who were called
 The West Saxons and the South Saxons, 845
 And the East Saxons and the Middle Saxons.

822. The first Cerdic is mentioned in v. 10.

823. Cerdicesora in A.S. Chr. *sub anno* 495.

826. The names are throughout given in the translation either in the ordinary forms used in modern English, or as they occur in Thorpe's translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; but this genealogy is so incorrect, that it is left here as in Gaimar's version, and that in the AS. Chr. appended for comparison: "Cerdic Elesing, Elesa Esling, Esla "Giwising, Giwis Wiging, Wig Freawining, Freawine Freothogaring "Freothogar Branding, Brand Bældægging, Bældæg Wodening." AS. Chr. s.a. 552. It will be noticed that Gaimar does not understand the meaning of the suffix *ing*.

But because Hengist and Horsa
 And Cerdic, who after their death
 Came to the land,
 And often made war there, 850
 Were of this royal lineage,
 Those of their nobles,
 Born in the country called Ange (England),
 Men called them all English.

TWENTY-FOUR years lasted the war 855
 Before Cerdic could conquer
 Much from the Britons.

Then was Cirencester besieged,
 But by the negligence of the Britons
 It was set on fire by sparrows, 860
 Which carried fire and sulphur into the town,
 And set light to many houses,

And the besiegers who were outside
 Made an assault with great courage.
 Then was this city conquered, 865
 And Gloucester 'was taken.

As far as the Severn they conquered all,
 They killed all the best Britons.
 And from the sea, to which they came,
 As far as the Severn, they took to themselves 870
 All the country and the kingdom,
 And they drove out the Britons.

Death of
 Cerdic.

FIFTEEN years did Cerdic reign.

King
 Cynric.

After his death reigned Cynric.

He was Cerdic's son; much he warred, 875

And great countries he took to himself.

The Britons hated him much,

And often showed their enmity.

The other English spread themselves,

And in many places seized kingdoms. 880

As the Britons had done before,
 Each made himself called king.
 From over sea came Saxons,
 When they landed they took everything,
 And the Britons, in consequence of the war with
 them, 885

Determined to leave the good land.
 Towards Wales in the west,
 Where their other kindred were,
 They journeyed and thither they fled.
 They defended this country well, 890
 And often assembled a host.
 Across the Severn they led their men ;
 Thus they fought with the English,
 With Cynric and the other kings ;
 Very often they fought together, 895
 And right dear they sold their land.

THE Danes were in Norfolk
 From the time that Haveloc was king.
 Thus they defended this country,
 And that which had belonged to king Edelsis. 900
 But Wasing was of their lineage,
 Who often made forays upon them,
 For no man would he bend.
 Every day he did wrong without redress ;
 Never would he redress wrong. 905
 He warred often against two kings,
 One was named king Burgard,
 The other was named Geine the Coward,
 Who for fear forsook his land.
 The war between them lasted a short time. 910
 Then Cynric, the Englishman, came.
 Wasing, the king, warred with him ;

900-10. "No trace of these early Danish kings occurs in any history anterior to the time of Gaimar." (Stevenson.)

Both he and his son named Chelulinz.
 Long was the strife between them,
 Until Wasing was killed. 915
 Cynric, his enemy, killed him ;
 King Burghard aided them,
 And brought in two kings of the Saxons.
 Il and Lowine of Gloucester,
 Wasling was dead, it could no other be, 920
 There were only two kings of the Saxons,
 Thirty years they reigned, then they died.
 At Salisbury twice
 Fought Cynric, the king,
 He and Ceawlin with the Britons, 925
 For daily there was strife between them,
 And in their time, when they reigned,
 Two quite clear days were benighted,
 And after these benighted nights
 Ida gained Northumberland. 930
 Know that he was the first king
 Of the English line who held it.
 This Ida reigned twelve years,
 And restored Bamborough.
 It was much decayed and ruined 935
 Since Ebrauc built it long ago.
 Ida was the son of Cobba, a tyrant,
 Who never served God.

919. This apparently is a confused reference to Ceawlin of the West Saxons, and Ælle of Northumbria, who each reigned 30 years (A.S. Chr. 560) ; but Ælle succeeded Ida, whom Gaimar mentions in v. 930.

925. At Old Sarum and Banbury, A.S. Chr. 552, 556.

928. The A.S. Chr. mentions eclipses of the sun, 15 February 538, and 20 June 540. They are included in the list given in *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.

934. A.S. Chr. 547. Geoffrey of Monmouth ascribes the building of Kaer Ebrauc (York), Alclud (Dunbarton), and Mount Agned (Edinburgh), to Ebrauc, but does not mention Bamborough. Lib. II., cap. vii.

937. *Cobba*] Eoppa. A.S. Chr. 547.

In the time of Ida, still
Northumberland had its name, 940
It was called Deira on the east of the Foss,
And Bernicia on the other side.
This king then fought
Against the Britons whom he hated well.
So fiercely he warred against them 945
That he conquered his land from them.
Greatly was he feared throughout Britain ;
For daily his following grew.
Ælle and Ida reigned,
One after the other, thirty years. 950
SINCE the birth of our Saviour
Dan Jesus Christ our Lord
Five hundred and sixty-five years,
As the chronicles assert,
Æthelberht was made king of Kent, 955
And of Surrey likewise ;
Fifty-three years he held the kingdom,
Christianity and true baptism
The Pope sent him.
He asked it of St. Gregory. 960
Dan Columba baptised him ;
He was a priest whom God loved.
Afterwards he went to the north and dwelled there.
With the Picts he then lived ;
The island of Iona was given to him, 965
And afterwards he was abbot there.
Ninian had formerly baptised
The other Picts of the kingdom ;
These are the Westmaringiens
Who then were Picts. 970

949. AS. Chr. 560.

955. The punctuation of the MS. from which the text is printed is wrong, the date 565 refers to Æthelberht.

961. Columbanus is mentioned in the AS. Chr. here, but only as going to the Picts.

At Whiterne lies St. Ninian;
 He came long before Columba.
 FIVE hundred years and sixty-eight
 Had passed on that night
 When Cutha and Ceawlin, the kings, 975
 Put to flight the Kentishmen.
 King Æthelberht was discomfited;
 His two barons were killed,
 Dead were his two barons,
 Oslaf and Cnebba were their names; 980
 This Cutha was the brother of Ceawlin;
 He conquered the Britons one morning
 At Bedford, there he conquered them.
 Three good fortresses then he took from them:
 Aylesbury and Bensington, 985
 And then the city of Luitune.
 Between Ceawlin and Cutha, his brother,
 They wrought misfortunes on the Britons.
 At Scorham they killed three kings,
 As the ancient books said, 990
 Commail and Condidan,
 And Farinmail, a powerful king.
 Then they conquered Gloucester,
 Also they took Bath and Cirencester.
 Ceawlin and Cutha went forward 995
 And sought the Britons where they found them.
 They came up with them in the country
 Which is called Fethanleag.
 The Britons killed Cutha there,
 But afterwards they suffered great loss; 1000
 They were destroyed and discomfited;
 King Ceawlin seized everything,

973. AS. Chr. 568.

983. AS. Chr. 571.

986. *Luitune*] Lugeanburh (Lenbury?), AS. Chr. 571.

989. *Scorham*] Deorham (Derham), AS. Chr. 577.

998. *Fethan leag*] Thorpe suggests Frethern, A.S. Chr. 584.

Their harness and their cattle,
 And their treasure and their manors.
 Then died the king of York. 1005
 So they made Æthelric king;
 Æthelric was king and valiant.
 Æthelric was king only five years.
 Æthelferth was of the lineage of Ida;
 But Dan Ceawlin, Cwichelm, and Crida 1010
 Had left this life.
 A king of Scots made a crafty attack
 (His name was Ægthan) on Æthelferth.
 With all his host he fought.
 They met at Dawston; 1015
 But the Scots were scattered,
 And the brother of king Æthelferth,
 Theodbald was his name; he was killed.
 Hering was the name of him who led them (the Scots);
 The people of Scotland fell there. 1020

THEN had the ages lasted
 From the birth of Jesus
 Six hundred and five years, as we read.
 Then Gregory sent
 St. Augustin to this land; 1025
 He made peace, destroyed war.
 Paulinus came thither, as his companion,
 With Dan Justus and Mellitus.
 They furthered Christianity much;
 In many places they baptised folk. 1030

1005. Ælle, AS. Chr. 588.

1009. Æthelfrith, AS. Chr. 593.

1010. AS. Chr. 593.

1013. AS. Chr. 603.

1028. AS. Chr. 604. Bede, Lib. I., cap. 29. Justus was bishop of Rochester 604-624, and Mellitus, bishop of London from 604 till he was expelled in 616, by the sons of Sæberht, who relapsed into Paganism. (Le Neve).

Then was Ceolwulf king of Winchester,
 And of Wessex and of Gloucester.
 This king loved disputes and strife.
 He hasted to make war daily
 Either with the English, or the Saxons, 1035
 Or the Scotch, or the Britons.
 King Eadwine was then king;
 He accepted the Christian law.
 He was of York. This we know
 That he established religion, 1040
 And rebuilt a minster
 And dedicated it to St. Peter.
 This king was of the lineage of Ælla,
 Who built a chapel to St. Peter.
 A bishop baptised him; 1045
 Paulinus was his name. God loved him much.
 He brought the pallium
 From Rome to Augustine the noble.
 To the archbishop Augustine
 Was this Paulinus sent. 1050
 With him came many companions
 To preach.
 In many places throughout the kingdom,
 Men right soon accepted Christianity,
 But it was a long time 1055
 Before this was commonly done.
 And some of those who accepted it
 Often took it up and abandoned it.
 SAINT Augustine, the good man,
 Gave his blessing. 1060

1031. AS. Chr. 597.

1037. Eadwine, King of Northumbria, converted A.D. 601. AS. Chr.

1042. Eadwine built at York a church dedicated to St. Peter, and afterwards rebuilt it in stone. AS. Chr. 627.

1046. Paulinus was consecrated Bishop by Justus, 21 July 625, and became bishop of York when Eadwine founded that see on his baptism. Easter, 627. (Le Neve.)

He ordained two bishops
 And properly consecrated these two ;
 Mellitus one was named,
 The other Justus, his companion.
 To Mellitus he gave his see. 1065
 At London he had his bishopric.
 And as to Justus, at Rochester
 He was master of Christendom.
 Mellitus then at first
 Went to preach in Essex. 1070
 He preached so well to king Sæberht
 That he asked for baptism. King
 Sæberht.
 This was a nephew of king Æthelberht,
 His sister's son. Openly
 He loved God and served Him well. 1075
 Ricole was the name of her who bore him,
 Sister of the king who held Kent,
 Blessed by God, as we know,
 And through that king who then held Kent.
 St. Augustine came to this country. 1080

ÆTHELFRITH was noble and powerful ;
 Also he was king of Northumberland.
 He led a great host to Leicester.
 Many Britons he found there,
 Then he fought with them. 1085
 Many he killed, all he conquered.
 Two hundred priests came to pray,
 They wished to bury the dead.
 These also remained dead on the field,
 Not one went away alive. 1090
 This king was named Brocmail,
 His fifty companions
 Fled, like broken men.

1071. AS. Chr. 504.

1083. *Leicester*] Legercyestre, AS. Chr. 606 (605), but Mr. Thorpe translates it Chester.

Who remained was killed.
 St. Augustine, by prophecy, 1095
 As it is written in his life,
 Had said this, and truly foretold:
 " All the Britons of this country,
 " Who will break the truce,
 " Shall perish by the hands of the Saxons." 1100
 Thus was his prophecy
 Accomplished and fulfilled.
 Then died the king of Kent,
 Which was loss to many people.
 His son reigned, Eadbald, 1105
 He quite forsook Christianity.
 Fifty three years had reigned
 Æthelberht, that precious king.
 He had a wife, his son took her,
 And the archbishop forbade it. 1110
 Laurentius was his name. He wished to flee,
 The archbishop, for he had no desire
 To consent to the king thus erring,
 Or committing such adultery.
 ST. PETER came and spoke to him, 1115
 He commanded him to go to the king,
 That he should leave this heresy,
 And live well and amend his life.
 He turned back happy and joyful;
 He talked and preached so well, 1120
 That the king took Christianity,
 And loved wisdom and honesty.
 And when the king was reformed,

1099. " Gif Wealas nellað sibbe wið us, hi seulan æt Seaxana handa for wurþan." AS. Chr. 606.

" Quia si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi; et si nationi Anglorum nolissent viam vitæ prædicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri." Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 2.

1103. Æthelberht, king of Kent, died A.D. 616. AS. Chr.

1111. AS. Chr. 616. Bede, Lib. ii., caps. 5, 6.

The archbishop was rejoiced at it.
 The good Laurentius did not tarry long 1125
 Before he died.

Near the tomb of St. Augustine,
 They placed him then, as he had commanded,
 As he had formerly loved him in life
 Then he would keep him company again. 1130

THEN was Mellitus sent for ;
 They consecrated him as archbishop.
 When the people of London lost him,
 They forsook Christianity.
 [After archbishop Mellitus 1135
 Then was Justus chosen.]

The bishop of Rochester
 They made master at Canterbury,
 And to Romanus they gave the see
 Of Rochester and the bishopric. 1140
 King Æthelfrith at this time
 Was killed, as I believe.

Rædwald killed him, the king of East Anglia.
 Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex he had together.
 This was the kingdom which he held. 1145

This Rædwald, he had taken it.
 And when king Æthelfrith was dead,
 Eadwine, the son of Ælla, seized it all.
 Then he conquered all Britain.

Some he drove away, some he killed, 1150
 Of the noblemen of the land,
 As a man who meant to conquer.
 But those of Kent kept their right,
 And made war with great success.

ÆTHELFRITH was of the lineage of Ida, 1155
 So his children had much help.
 No man had such right in the land:

1141. AS. Chr. 617.

1148. AS. Chr. 617.

They lost it, they made war for it.
 Now I will tell you how were named
 The sons of the noble Æthelfrith. 1160
 The eldest of all was named Eanfrith,
 The second Oswald, a man beloved,
 The third they called Oswiu,
 The fourth Oswudu, so I tell you,
 The fifth was called Oslaf, 1165
 The sixth Offa, this was his name.
 These joined with the others,
 And fought against king Eadwine.
 Cwichelm, the king, fought against him.
 He tried hard to betray him; 1170
 He sent a traitor
 To kill him, this he thought to do.
 Eomer was the name of this traitor.
 Hear how he committed this great dishonour:
 Thus did this man of villany. 1175
 By night he came into Eadwine's chamber.
 With a knife this evil felon
 Killed there two noble barons,
 And badly wounded king Eadwine.
 He afterwards escaped, 1180
 Forthhere and Lilla were killed;
 They were honourably buried.
 A daughter of Eadwine was born that night.
 The king promised that she should be brought [to
 baptism]
 According to the covenant which he had made with
 God, 1185

1161. AS. Chr. 617. There should be seven; Gainmar has omitted Oslac, the fourth son.

1168. According to rule "reis" should be nominative, but the MSS. do not always observe grammatical rules.

1171. AS. Chr. 626 (627).

1184. Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 9. "þ he wolde his dohter gesyllan Gode." AS. Chr. 626 (627).

If he had vengeance on his enemies,
 Who sent this felon against him,
 And his friends prayed God for it.

AND then when he had promised this,
 He led a host against his enemies, 1190
 And met with them in Wessex.
 He gave battle to them fiercely;
 Five kings met their death there,
 Of those who had done him wrong.
 Then he gave his daughter to God. 1195
 Her parents named her Eanfled.
 They brought eleven other children with her,
 As the king had commanded.
 This was done at Pentecost.
 Paulinus was master of this ceremony, 1200
 And after this, at Easter,
 The fonts were blessed.
 The king was then baptised,
 And confirmed, and crossed,
 And with him all those of the country. 1205
 This was done at York,
 There, where he had formerly given
 The place to the rule of St. Peter.
 This bishopric belonged to St. Paulinus,
 As archbishop he held the see. 1210

KING Penda then received as his kingdom
 All the realm of Mercia.

1197. "twelfa sum." AS. Chr. 626 (627). "cum undecim aliis de familia ejus." Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 9.

1202. The blessing of the font is mentioned in the *Mort d'Arthur* in the account of the conversion of Palamides the Saracen, by Tristram. "Then the suffragan (of Carlisle) let fill a great vessel with water. And when he had hallowed it, he then confessed clean Sir Palamides, and Sir Tristram and Sir Galleron were his Godfathers." Book xii., cap. 14.

1204. *primsene*]. To make the sign of the cross. Burguy III., 341. Stevenson (p. 743), translates it "instructed."

1211. AS. Chr. 626 (627).

He fought against two kings
 For years and days and several months.
 These were Cwichelm and Cynegils. 1215
 Many men they drove into exile.
 Then it happened that at Cirencester
 A battle was to be fought between them.
 But then it fell out pleasantly,
 For a treaty was made. 1220
 After which they did not delay
 To assemble all their men;
 Their men and their friends,
 And all they could in the country,
 Marched against Eadwine. 1225
 They met him at Hedfelde.
 On all sides were many men killed,
 And cut to pieces and made prisoners.
 It would be bad for me to tell all
 How one was eager to kill the other. 1230
 But the strokes between them did not cease
 Until king Eadwine was dead.
 Ceadwalla was the name of him who killed him.
 King Penda took his head.
 Osfrith his son was left dead. 1235
 The men of the North fled,
 They pursued them with many men.
 They laid waste all Northumberland.
 PAULINUS, who was archbishop,
 Heard that wrong had vanquished right. 1240
 Much it grieved him that the heathen
 Had destroyed the Christians.
 Thereupon it followed that he fled.
 He went to sea to save himself,

1217. AS. Chr. 628.

1226. Heðfelða. AS. Chr. 633. Hæthfelth. Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 20.
 Identified with hesitation by both Thorpe and the Editor of the Mon.
 Brit. as Hatfield Chase.

He took the queen with him, 1245
 Who was wife of king Eadwine.
 Æthelburh was her name truly.
 They went by sea as far as Kent.
 Eadbald the king received them well.
 He honoured Paulinus much and rejoiced. 1250
 As he could no longer be archbishop,
 He made him bishop at Rochester.
 All his life he dwelt there,
 And God loved the queen.
 Then afterwards the people of Bernicia, 1255
 Who were very wealthy,
 Made a noble man their king,
 The son of Æthelfrith, Eanfrith was his name,
 And at this time, the men of York
 Made Osric their king, 1260
 And the barons of Northumberland
 Made the good Oswald their king;
 At this time, who will tell the truth,
 Cynegils received baptism.
 He was the king who held Wessex. 1265
 Another king then had it.
 At Dorchester he was brought to the font;
 A bishop confirmed him.
 Birinus was the name of him who baptised him.
 King Oswald received him. 1270
 And before the year was passed,
 Cwichelm was brought to the font.

1252. Paulinus was bishop of Rochester, A.D. 633-644 (Le Neve).

1254. Stevenson translates this v., "The Queen loved God," but *Deus* should be nominative. In vv. 1075, 1409, and 1472, *Deus* is used for the objective case.

1258. AS. Chr. 534.

1260. AS. Chr. 564.

1264. AS. Chr. 635.

1270. "Oswold his onfeng." AS. Chr. 635.

1272. Also at Dorchester. AS. Chr. 636.

	EADBALD, king of Kent died.	
	Twenty-four years he held the land.	
	Ercenberht was the name of one of his sons.	1275
	Him then they chose as king.	
	He first fasted in Lent.	
	No English king before observed it thus.	
	He first observed Easter.	
	No Englishman before would begin.	1280
	He took a wife, Sexburh was her name,	
	Daughter of king Anna, a noble man.	
	Ercenberht had a daughter.	
	She was marvellous beautiful.	
	Ercongota men called her.	1285
	Well she upheld religion.	
	In this time while these lived,	
	And well upheld the holy law,	
	Then was killed a valiant king,	
Saint Oswald.	Oswald, who held Northumberland.	1290
	At Maserfeld Penda slew him	
	While he was king in his ninth year.	
Bardney.	He was carried to Bardney ;	
	His body was honourably buried there.	
	His head lies on St. Cuthbert,	1295
	At Durham, that is, so says the book.	
Peter- borough.	His hand is entire at Burg.	
	He who keeps it holds it very dear.	

1273. AS. Chr. 640.

1274. Two MSS. of the AS. Chr., Bodl. Laud., 636, and Domit. A. viij. read xxiiij. and three others xxv. The former appears, says Thorpe, to have belonged to Peterborough Abbey, and may have been the copy used by Gaimar.

1290. AS. Chr. 642 (641). Thorpe suggests Mirfield as the modern name of Maserfeld.

1297. Bebbanburh, AS. Chr. 642 (641). Bede says the same, "Denique
"in Urbe Regia quæ a Regina quondam vocabulo Bebbæ cognominatur,
"(manns eum brachio) loculo inclusæ argenteo in Ecclesia S. Petri
"servantur," Lib. iii., cap. 6. It was there in the time of Simeon of
Durham, wrapped in a cloak and undecayed (Hist. Regum, s.a. 774), but

At this time, of which I tell you, Kenwealh was chosen king.	1300
The men of Wessex made him king Thirty-one years over the English. He began by being a good man. He built the Minster at Winchester.	
Cynegilsing was his surname. He was of that nobleman's lineage.	1305
AFTER Oswald, Oswiu was king. He reigned over the Northumbrians Eight and twenty years, he reigned no less. He established the laws, he loved peace.	1310
He was brother of Oswald, the king. Well the Northumbrians supported him. By him was killed king Oswine, The son of the uncle of king Eadwine.	
He was brother of king Osric. Their father was named king Edelris.	1315
Oswine was only king seven years. Then he died, and Aidan, A very valiant bishop, Was translated after him.	1320
Between them there was only twelve days. By the virtue of his holy corpse, the deaf hear.	

according to Capgrave, whom Stevenson quotes, the arm was stolen by a monk of Peterborough, and deposited in that Abbey. (Nova Legenda Anglie, f 255. b.) The head is minutely described by Simeon in the Vita S. Oswaldi, cap. 51.

1300. AS. Chr. 643 (642).

1307. AS. Chr. 642 (641).

1311. *reis*], though not usually employed as the genitive case, is so sometimes. See vv. 829, 1017, 1073, 1315.

1313. AS. Chr. 650.

1315. According to AS. Chr. 634, Oswine was son of Osric, son of Ælfrie, Eadwine's paternal uncle. Edelris is not a correct form for Ælfrie. Gaimar was perhaps misled by seeing Æthelfryth in the next line of the Chr.

1318. AS. Chr. 651 (650).

1322. Bede does not mention this miracle.

St. Aidan help us,
And St. Oswald, of whom I have written.

Oswiu, the king, a year after 1325
Killed Penda at Wingfield;
With him were killed thirty-three
Noble men, all king's sons;
And some kings were killed there.
One there was of great renown; 1330
He was of East Anglia, brother of the March lord
Who then held the country.

At this time were numbered.
As many ages as were gone,
Five thousand eight hundred and fifty years. 1335
Then Peada received worthy honour.
The men of Mercia made him king,
For he was of the sons of Penda.
Fifty-six years as we reckon,
And six hundred years with measure, 1340
From the incarnation of Jesus,
Until the day that Peada was slain.
They made Wulfhere, son of Peada, king.
And he reigned over the Mercians.
Then was the great battle 1345
At Pen, with hard fighting.
Wulfhere chased the Britons; then
He pursued them as far as Petherton.
This was after he came from East Anglia.
And three years he was kept in exile. 1350
King Penda had driven him out,
Disinherited him, and taken his fief,

1325. AS. Chr. 655 (654).

1331. Æthelhere, brother of Anna, king of the East Angles. AS. Chr. 654.

1336. AS. Chr. 655 (654).

1338. *Wentingeis*], an error for *Pentingeis*, the P being mistaken for an AS. W., as was pointed out by Wright and Stevenson.

1343. AS. Chr. 657 (656).

1347. *Wulfhere*], a mistake for *Kenwealh*. See AS. Chr. 658.

Because he had forsaken his sister.
 He lost his heritage for three years.
 Then he fought this other battle, 1355
 Near Chester, with king Kenwealh.
 This was at Pontesbury,
 Where he took much from Wulfhere.
 All Ashdown then he took possession of;
 He took this country from Wulfhere. 1360
 The king Cuthred was of the lineage
 Of king Cwichehelm; he was wise.
 Between him and king Coenbyhrt
 They held the whole Isle of Wight.
 After the island had been so harried, 1365
 King Wulfhere gave it
 To Æthelwald, to his godson.
 He was king of the South Saxons;
 And he had the men of Wight baptised.
 By him it began first. 1370
 Then the day returned to night.
 Also there was a great death,
 Such never was before or since that time.
 Tuda, the bishop, in my belief,
 Died then; this I know for certain 1375
 That he was buried at Paggles,
 And Ercenberht, king of Kent,
 Died then also.
 Ecgbriht, his son, took possession of the kingdom.

1356. *Prof de Cestre*]. This is an erroneous translation of "on Easton," at Easter, AS. Chr. 661.

1357. AS. Chr. 661. Kenwealh's battle was with the Britons, not Wulfhere.

1358-60. Gaimar continues his mistake. The AS. Chr. states that Wulfhere ravaged as far as Ashdown.

1367. AS. Chr. 661.

1371. An eclipse of the sun, 5 non. Mai. 664 according to the AS. Chr., but *L'Art de Vérifier* gives the date as 1 May.

1376. Wagele, AS. Chr. 664. Thorpe suggests the place is Wayleigh, Bede (*Lib. iij.*, c. 27) says Tuda was buried at Paegnalaech, perhaps Pincanheale, now Finchale in Durham. (*Mon. Brit.*) Tuda was bishop of Lindisfarne.

Then the archbishop held his synod;	1380
And Colman and his companions	
Departed to their possessions.	
And Ceadda was then blessed	
To be bishop, he and Wilfrith.	
This year an archbishop died;	1385
His name was Deus-dedit.	
And Vitalianus, the pope,	
Made Theodore archbishop.	
King Eggbriht gave to Bass, the priest,	
Reculver, but he would not stay there.	1390
THEN died Oswiu, the good king.	
The Northumbrians made great moan.	
They gave the honour to his son Egferth.	
They made him king and rightful lord.	
Theodore then made bishop	1395
The clerk Hlotherc, over all Wessex.	
DCLXI. Six hundred years and sixty-one	
There were, since the Incarnation.	
Then the birds fought	
In the valleys and the hills,	1400
So many died and were killed,	
That it was said there were none alive.	
King Kenwealh a year after	
Died. His time was no longer.	
And then again, in the next year,	1405

1380. The synod of Whitby or Streanaeshalh. Neither Bede (Lib. iii., c. 25), nor Florence of Worcester, mention the presence of archbishop Deusdedit. Archbishop Theodore held a synod at Hertford, A.D. 673 (AS. Chr.), to which, perhaps, Gaimar refers here.

1381. AS. Chr. 664. Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, 662-5.

1383. Ceadda, bishop of Lichfield, 669-672.

1384. Wilfrith was ordained bishop at Compiègne, A.D. 664, (Bede, Lib. iii., c. 28).

1390. AS. Chr. 669.

1391. AS. Chr. 670.

1397. A.D. 671, AS. Chr.

1403. AS. Chr. 672.

Seaxburh died, the daughter of Anna.
 The third year Ecgbriht died ;
 And his aunt, St Ætheldryth.
 She was a nun, she loved God.
 In Ely, near there, is their place. 141 0
 At this time the West Saxons chose
 Æscwine, whose name was Cenfusing.
 He was heir, so they made him king.
 Wulphere, with all his Mercians,
 Fought with him, he and his people, 141 5
 At Biedanheafod truly.
 Men enough were killed,
 King Wulphere had the worse ;
 He lost more than he gained.
 He had evil counsel when he undertook it. 1420
 He did not live more than a year,
 And no one followed his orders.

THEN the Mercians made
 Æthelred king, with great honour.
 He was a wise man, so they chose him, 1425
 And there never was such great trouble ;
 But in this year that he was made king,
 With a great host he came into Kent.
 Through the country he slew men,
 He burnt and spoiled and took great preys. 1430
 And in this year died Æscwine ;
 And Centwine seized all Wessex.
 Then appeared a comet, Comet.

1407. AS. Chr. 673. It was another Seaxburh, wife of Ercenbeht, king of Kent, who was daughter of Anna.

1412. Son of Cenfus, AS. Chr. 674.

1414. AS. Chr. 675.

1416. *Biedanheafod*]. Thorpe suggests Bedwin.

1428. AS. Chr. 676.

1431. AS. Chr. 676.

1433. AS. Chr. 678. The date of this comet, which has been variously given as 676, 677, and 678, is discussed in Pingré's *Cométographie*, I., 332-3. Relying on certain Chinese observations, he considers it must have appeared in August or September, 676.

- A star which prophets,
 And clerks learned in astronomy, 1435
 When it shows itself, know well
 That God makes this sign seen,
 That the people may know
 That there are some who do none
 Of all his commandments; 1440
 That his faithful people have not peace among
 themselves,
 That kings are acting contrary to right,
 That they oppress their serfs with anger,
 That they fail in all well doing.
 Therefore this sign was shown. 1445
 Three months they saw it clear and bright.
 Through all Britain it was seen;
 It stretched out like a sunbeam.
 When it stretched its longest ray
 It came straight over St. Wilfrith. 1450
 Whichever way the archbishop went,
 With him the comet turned.
 King Ecgferth had driven him away,
 And placed two bishops in his sec.
 Bosa, he set over Deira, 1455
 And Eata over Bernicia,
 And St. Wilfrith went to Rome.
 There he lived as a holy man.
 A third bishop they ordained.
 Lindsey they gave to him, 1460
 Hecece was his name, never before
 Did the English there have a bishop.

At that time was killed a nobleman
 On the Trent, Ælfwine was his name,

1450. This circumstance is not to be found in the AS. Chr., nor Bede.

1461. *Hecece*] Eadhed, AS. Chr. 678. Bede (Lib. iv., c. 5) mentions
 Æceca as succeeding Bisi in the bishopric of the East Angles in A.D.
 673. Hence perhaps the error. 1464. AS. Chr. 679.

At the battle of two kings,	1465
One was Ecgferth of the Northumbrians,	
The other was named Æthelred,	
Mercia was his kingdom.	
St. Ætheldryth then died.	
At that time Coldingham was burnt,	1470
Fire from heaven lighted it,	
As it pleased God, it fell there.	
Two years after St. Hilda died,	
She was abbess of Streanaeshalch (Whitby).	
And in that year was the battle	1475
Between the lords of Cornwall	
And the Britons, whom Centwine	
Made flee to the sea.	
Two years after, Ecgferth the king	
Sent a host against the Scotch.	1480
They destroyed everything cruelly.	
Before them no minster was safe,	
They burnt minsters and chapels,	
Wives they dishonoured, and maidens.	
Five years after, king Ecgferth	1485
Made St. Cuthbert a bishop.	
The archbishop Theodore	
Blessed this lord	
At York. There he consecrated him	
To Hexham, thither he sent him,	1490
For there was the chief see	
Of all the archbishopric, at that time.	
And Trumbyhrt was deposed,	

1473. AS. Chr. 680.

1474. A.D. 680. Bede, Lib. v., c. 24.

1475. AS. Chr. 682 (683).

1479. AS. Chr. 684.

1480. *Scotch*], i.e., the Irish. "gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam," Bede, Lib. iv., c. 26.

1485. One year, AS. Chr. 685. Bede gives the same date, Lib. iv., c. 27.

1493. *Trumbyhrt*], D. and L. read Teunibert, evidently a mistake for Trumbyhrt. Wilfrith's deposition, which happened in A.D. 678, had

	Who had been archbishop.	
	King Egferth in this year	1495
	Was slain by the men of Orkney ;	
	And very many people died there	
	Beyond the sea towards the north.	
	Egferth reigned fifteen years in truth.	
	Afterwards his brother Ealdferth was king.	1500
	At this time Eata departed	
	At Hexham, where they chose	
St. John.	John. He held the archbishopric	
	Until Wilfrith returned.	
	He (Wilfrith) was received as primate ;	1505
	And St. John went to Chester.	
	Bosa, the bishop, was dead.	
	They sought and chose John.	
	There was great peace. Then he departed	
	And left his priest Wilfrith there.	1510
	He was consecrated bishop.	
	And St. John departed	
Beverley.	To his minster at Beverley.	
	He served God well, whom he loved much ;	
	And in his time Ceadwalla waged	1515
	A right evil war for his kingdom.	
	And in that year that he made war	
	King Hlothere departed.	

nothing to do with Cuthbert's consecration to Hexham, but Trumbyhrt, the previous bishop of Hexham, had been deprived by the Piets, who had revolted from England. AS. Chr. 685.

1496. By the North Sea, AS. Chr. "in angustias inaccessorum montium," while on a campaign against the Piets. Bede., Lib. iv., c. 26. Simeon of Durham says, "apud Nechtanesmere, quod est stagnum Nechtani, die xiiij. kal. Jun. anno regni sui xv." Hist. Dunelm : Ecel. Lib. i., cap. ix. Mr. Arnold, the latest editor of Simeon, appends a note to this passage that "Dunnichen Hill, near Forfar, and the valley and the lake to the north of it, are supposed to have been the scene of this battle."

1506. Ceastre, in the AS. Chr. 685. This means York.

1515. AS. Chr. 686.

1518. AS. Chr. 685.

He was a wise man and a noble king:
He ruled all his days over the Kentish men. 1520

AFTER his death Mul and Ceadwalla
Waged right evil war in Kent.
They burnt, plundered and robbed;
They harried all the Isle of Wight.
After this, in the same year, 1525
The Kentish men caught Mul.

Him and eleven companions
They burnt with fire, as felons.
Ceadwalla was very wroth.
The same year he plundered Kent. 1530

Afterwards he went to Rome,
And the Pope made him a good man.
In a font he baptised him well.
Peter then was he called;
Nor eight days after did he live. 1535

He was buried in the minster.
This was eleven days before May.
Of another king I will speak.
Ine was his name, as I have heard say.
The West Saxons made him their lord. 1540
Thirty-seven years this king reigned,
And then went to Rome.

There he remained all his days,
Until the day of his death.
The archbishop Theodorus 1545
Departed this year, no longer did he live.
And the abbot of Reculver,
Brihtwold, was put in his place.
There were then two kings in Kent.

1527. This is what Gaimar's French must mean. The AS. Chr. says,
"xii. men mid him." Anno 687.

1531. AS. Chr. 688.

1545. AS. Chr. 690.

1548. *Brihtwold*]: Gaimar writes Bruthpat, he or his scribe mistaking
the Saxon "w" for a "p." AS. Chr. 692.

One was named Wihtred, 1550
 The other's name was Swebheard.
 Then departed the bishop Gefmund;
 And Tobias received his see.
 Drythelm died, he thanked God.
 And the Kentish men gave 1555
 Thirty thousand ounces of weighed gold
 For the burning they made of Mul.
 They paid all this to king Ine;
 And the Kentish men, according to law,
 Made Wihtred their king. 1560
 Thirty years he reigned and held the land;
 Well he fought his wars.

DCCIII. THEN it was from the Incarnation,
 Seven hundred and four years, as we read,
 Æthelred, king of Mercia, 1565
 Took the habit of a monk. But Cenred
 Reigned after him and held [rule].
 Then it fared ill with king Ealdferth.
 He was lord of the Northumbrians.
 At Driffild this king died. 1570
 Osred, his son, reigned after him,
 As his father had devised.
 A year after the men of Wessex
 Made a bishop of the good Aldhelm.

1552. Bishop of Rochester. AS. Chr. 693.

1554. AS. Chr. 693. Drythelm was a Northumbrian layman, who apparently died, but reviving, recounted a vision of purgatory, hell, and heaven. He afterwards became a monk at Mailrose, and as part of his austerities consisted in sitting in the water in the winter and letting his clothes freeze on him, no wonder that, as Gaimar says, "Deu graced," when he died. Bede, Lib. v., c. 12.

1555. AS. Chr. 694.

1561. Thirty-three. AS. Chr. 694.

1565. AS. Chr. 704.

1570. 14 December. AS. Chr. 705.

1574. The date of Aldhelm being made bishop is derived from Bede, Lib. v., c. 18. He died 709. AS. Chr.

Two bishoprics they made of one,	1575
All by counsel of the people.	
Daniel had one bishopric,	
The other had Aldhelm, who was very good.	
After Aldhelm came Forthhere.	
With great honour he held the bishopric.	1580
Forthhere held in the west,	
And Daniel in the east.	
Woods were between them and great forests ;	
But both were rich.	
One is the bishopric of Winchester,	1585
The other should be at Salisbury.	
Before this happened,	
From beyond the Humber, towards the south,	
Came those who slew	
Queen Ostrythe ; and her cousin,	1590
King Æthelred, was her husband.	
Ecgferth was her brother, she his sister.	
Beorht was killed by the Picts.	
Cenred reigned over the Southhumbrians.	
That is Lindsey and Holmedene,	1595
Kesteven and Holland, and Hestdene ;	
From the Humber to Rutland	
Extended this kingdom and beyond.	
At many times it was divided.	
Such places there were right to the Thames.	1600
The capital of the kingdom used to be	
At the city of Dorchester,	
And Huntingdon and the county	
Used to belong to this kingdom.	

1577. Daniel, bishop of Winchester, A.D. 705-744.

1590. AS. Chr. 697.

1593. AS. Chr. 699. Beorht was commander of the expedition to Ireland in 684. See v. 1480.

1594. AS. Chr. 702.

1595. "The description of the Southhumbrian kingdom, which is not to be found in the Chronicle, seems to show the writer's local knowledge of Lincolnshire." (Mon. Brit., p. 783.)

Also the city of Grantelhester 1605
 Once belonged to it, and ought to do so.
 One king could well protect it,
 If he could hold it in peace.

At this time the Mercians
 Made Ceolred lord and king. 1610
 King Cenred went to Rome,
 And Offa with him, a noble man.
 Cenred remained there till the end of his life.
 Then he departed by the fate of God.

Oundle. In this year, know well and see, 1615
 St. Wilfrith died at Oundle.

Death of His body was taken to Ripon.
 Wilfrith. There religion was well observed.
 Forty-five years before, as it is written,
 He was elected bishop. 1620

This good man, this Wilfrith,
 Ecgferth, the king, drove out,
 And after him, Acca, his priest
 Took his place, to be bishop.
 In this year Dan Beorhtfrith 1625
 Fought with the Picts,

Between two waters, Heugh and Caraw,
 A great and cruel battle.
 And Ine and Nænna, his kinsman,
 Offered battle to Geraint. 1630

He was a powerful king of Wales.
 Of all his right they deprived him.
 And Sigbald was killed this year.
 He was a rich man of the country.

At this time Guthlac lived, 1635
 A man who served the Lord God.

1610. AS. Chr. 709.

1623. AS. Chr. 710 (709).

1627. Hengh and Caraw are suggested by Thorpe.

1635. His death is mentioned here in the AS. Chr. 714 (713).

Who will look at his life
 Will find many wonders in it.
 It is well I should touch upon it, but I cannot tell
 all.

Ine and Ceolred made slaughter 1640
 At Wansborough in a battle.

A year afterwards, which I say without doubt,
 Then was Osred, the king, slain,
 Who reigned over the Northumbrians,
 In the march towards the South. 1645

He was king seven years, as I think.

Then they made Cenred king.

Two years and half a month he held the kingdom.

Then Osric held it eleven years.

Ceolred, the valiant king of Mercia, 1650

Died this year, as it is related.

At Lichfield was he buried.

And king Æthelred, son of Penda,

The Mercians carried away.

They buried him at Bardney. 1655

They gave Mercia to Æthelbald.

He reigned forty-one years.

He had war enough and great trouble.

A rich man, Ecgberht was his name,

At this time, by good exhortation, 1660

Betook himself to God and to St. Peter.

In orisons and prayer

He continued daily till his death.

He was buried at Mirmartin.

1637. Perhaps the life by Felix, Monk of Jarrow, printed in *Acta Sanctorum*, ii., 38 (April 11), and elsewhere. (Hardy's Desc. Cat. i., 405.)

1640. AS. Chr. 715 (714).

1642. AS. Chr. 716.

1646. One MS. of the AS. Chr. (Tib. B. iv.) has viij. but the date of his accession is given as A.D. 705, so that *eleven* is the correct number.

1660. AS. Chr. 716.

1664. Mirmartin is perhaps another form of Mirmantun, or Cair Segont, where, according to Nennius (c. 25), Constantius, the father of Con-

Another noble brother of the king, 1665
 Ingild was his name, died, as I believe.
 He was brother of the good king Ine.
 Cuthburh, their sister, was queen.
 During her life she founded Wimborne,
 And built there a beautiful abbey, 1670
 And king Ealdferth married her.
 In their life she was separated
 From the king, who held Northumberland.
 She left him while they were both living;
 She valued her chastity so much 1675
 That she left all her riches.
 Cwenburh was the name of the other sister.
 She exerted herself so to do right,
 That never in the country,
 Where she lived, was any one so loved. 1680
 It was then seven hundred and twenty-one years,
 As the ancients count,
 From the nativity of Christ.
 So many ages had then passed,
 When Daniel went to Rome, 1685
 The bishop whom God loved.
 Cynewulf was killed this year,
 A king's son (Ætheling), of great worth.
 The good John then died,
 He who lies at Beverley, 1690
 And Æthelburh rased the work
 Which king Ine had built;
 At Taunton he had had it built.

Death of
 John of
 Beverley.

stantine the Great was buried, and where he sowed three seeds, of gold,
 silver, and brass, that no poor person might be found in it. The Editors
 of the *Monumenta Britannica* identify this place as Silchester, others as
 near Carnarvon, but one MS. of Nennius adds, "id est Urbs Eboraca."
 According to the AS. Chr. 729, Ecgberht died in Iona.

1666. AS. Chr. 718 (717).

1685. AS. Chr. 721 (720).

1687. By Ine. AS. Chr. 721 (720).

1691. AS. Chr. 722 (721).

She caused the work to be thrown down.	
In the following year	1695
Were many savage wars.	
King Wihtred, who held Kent,	
Died, as God willed.	
Thirty-four years this king reigned.	
Well he ruled, he loved his people.	1700
And Ine, king of Wessex,	
Warred in Surrey and Sussex,	
And killed Ealdbriht, a king's son,	
Whom he had driven from his own.	
Once he quite disinherited him,	1705
Now he killed him, and put him to death.	
And he took many of the South Saxons.	
Some he plundered, some he killed.	
Then after he had rested a while	
To Rome king Ine went;	1710
And Æthelheard, his kinsman,	
Received the kingdom of the West Saxons.	
Fourteen years he held it very wisely.	
He was beloved among his people.	
Then after two years had passed	1715
Two comets showed themselves.	Comet.
The stars shed rays,	
Some said that for peace,	

1697. AS. Chr. 725.

1704. AS. Chr. 722 (721).

1710. AS. Chr. 728 (726).

1716. In Jan. 728½. AS. Chr. 729. It is conjectured that this comet is the same as that of 1677. Pingré, I. 335.

1717. Stevenson translates "foretold the fall of Kings," but the translation above seems the more likely to be correct. The warning given by comets is specified also by Honorius of Autun. "Cometæ sunt stellæ flammis crinitæ in Lactea Zona versus Aquilonem apparentes, regni mutationem aut pestilentiam, aut bella vel ventos, æstus vel siccitatem portendentes. Cernuntur autem septem diebus, si diutius octoginta" (De Imagine Mundi, Lib. I., c. 137. Migne's Patrol. Coursus, v. 172, p. 146). One copy (R. MS. 13 A. XXI., f. 21), reads "æstus vel oriundas lites."

Some said that for war;
 That it foretells banishment from the land. 1720
 But whatever they said, right or wrong,
 Why this was none knew.
 Osric, the king, then died.
 Eleven years he reigned. He was full strong.
 And St. Egberht died then, 1725
 Who had lived a good life.
 Ceolwulf held the kingdom eight years afterwards.
 Then Oswald the etheling died.
 The day came, then it grew dark.
 Æthelbald harried Wessex. 1730
 He took and seized Somerton.
 He conquered much while he lived.
 BISHOP Acea was then driven
 From Hexham, from his see.
 Then the moon appeared 1735
 Red; it was blood, as it seemed
 To all those who saw it.
 It was bloody every one said.
 The archbishop then died,
 Tatwine, he served God well. 1740
 They chose Egberht to his see.
 He ruled the archbishopric well.
 Bede, the priest, then died
 At Wearmouth. There they buried him.
 King Ceolwulf became a monk. 1745
 A kinsman of his took the kingdom.

1723. AS. Chr. 729.

1725. See v. 1664.

1728. AS. Chr. 730.

1728. An eclipse of the sun on 14 August. AS. Chr. 733. (L'Art de Verifier.)

1733. AS. Chr. 733.

1735. AS. Chr. 734.

1739. Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury. AS. Chr. 734.

1743. AS. Chr. 734. Bede, in fact, died the following year, 735.

1745. King of Northumbria. AS. Chr. 737.

Eadberht was his name. 'Twenty-one years
 He held the kingdom, with great trouble,
 For Æthelbald warred against him.
 This year he harried Northumberland. 1750
 Eadberht, the son of Eata,
 Eata, the son of Leodwald.
 This was the name of the powerful king
 Who reigned over the Northumbrians.
 His brother was named Ecgberht, the son of Eata. 1755
 He was an archbishop, of noble race.
 Both lie side by side
 At York, in the porch.

THEN after a short time
 A king of the West Saxons died, 1760
 King Æthelheard. His kinsman,
 Cuthred, reigned after his death.
 Sixteen years, they say, he held the land.
 King Æthelbald made great war on him.
 Æthelbald was king of Mercia. 1765
 Cuthred upheld his West Saxons.
 Saint Cuthbryht held the archbishopric,
 For the archbishop was exiled.
 Cuthred and king Æthelbald
 Fought against the Welsh. 1770
 They made truce, for the battle.
 They quite discomfited the gathering
 Which the Welsh had made,
 Who could, as soon as he could, fled.
 A year after the men of Winchester, 1775
 When Daniel was no longer,

1751. AS. Chr. 738.

1761. AS. Chr. 741 (740).

1767. Cuthbryht, archbishop of Canterbury, was elected on the death, not banishment, of Nothhelm. AS. Chr. 741 (740).

1749. AS. Chr. 743.

1776. Daniel resigned the bishopric of Winchester 744, and died the following year. AS. Chr. 744 (745).

Made Hunferth their bishop.
 [He was a right good master of the clergy,
 A wiser could not be.]
 The stars of heaven rose, 1780
 And moved in appearance :
 The people said they were falling.
 Then departed the other Wilfrith,
 On the third day within the month of April.
 He was bishop thirty years, 1785
 As the ancients tell us.
 Then was king Selred slain.
 Then king Eadbryht departed ;
 And Dan Cynric of Wessex,
 A king's son, was killed. 1790
 In that time and season,
 Between Cuthred and Æthelhun,
 They held battle and made war.
 He was an ealdorman of the land.
 The one was king, the other ealdorman. 1795
 Well this Æthelhun held his own.
 WHEN Cuthred had reigned twelve years
 He fought against Æthelbald.
 The king of Mercia took to flight,
 He [Cuthred] killed many of his men. 1800
 At Burford was the battle ;
 The Mercians had the overthrow.
 Two years after, king Cuthred
 Fought against the Welsh.

1780. And steorran foron swyðe seotygende. AS. Chr. 744.

1783. Bishop of York, died, 3 kal. Mai. AS. Chr. 744.

1786. As we read, D.

1786. Selred was king of the East Saxons. AS. Chr. 746.

1788. King of Kent. AS. Chr. 748.

1791. AS. Chr. 750.

1798. AS. Chr. 752.

1804. AS. Chr. 753. The Chr. does not state the result of the battle, nor is it mentioned either in the *Annales Cambriæ* or *Brut y Tywysogion*.

He was defeated ; but escaped,	1805
And lost little of his own.	
Two years after he came to his end.	
Then they made his kinsman king,	
Who was named Sigebryht.	
He held the kingdom no more than a year.	1810
Seven hundred and sixty, less five years,	
There were at that day and that time,	
From the nativity of Jesus,	
Until that day, as was reckoned,	
When Cynewulf disinherited	1815
Sigebryht. He drove out his kinsman	
And the lords of the country,	
For treasons which they had committed.	
He held the county of Hampton,	
And all Wessex and Wilton.	1820
CYNEWULF long time held the land,	
Till a lord took it from him by war.	
Much he warred against him and well he held himself,	
Until the last ill befel him.	
He fought a battle against Cynewulf ;	1825
All his men were killed,	
And he escaped wounded.	
He hid himself in Andredesweald,	
Until a swineherd struck him dead	
In a thicket, where he was found.	1830
Cynwulf was then holder [of the kingdom]	
Till he had reigned more than twenty years.	
This Sigebryht whom he had driven out	
Was his kinsman, but by the instigation	
And advice of his lords,	1835

1807. One year. AS. Chr. 754.

1815. AS. Chr. 755.

1817. For unryhtum dædum. AS. Chr. 755.

1825. The passage is confused. "He" must mean Sigebryht, whom Cynewulf drove into Andred, and who was stabbed by a herdsman at Pryfetesflod (Privet). AS. Chr. 755.

Who were foolish and wicked, The king was angered against him. This Sigebryht had a brother, Whose name was Cyneheard. He took a mad revenge.	1840
By spies he watched, When the king entered a chamber Where he came privately To a lady without his people. At this chamber he attacked him, Until the king came out. With an axe, which he wielded, He (Cynewulf) ran at him directly he saw him. With the axe he gave him such a stroke Upon the head, when he struck him, That he clove him to the shoulders. He killed him who attacked him, But the others rushed on him ; He was slain in very little time, And when Siebrant heard it, He and his men came to the cry. They killed all they found, And took and robbed and plundered. But as soon as he had gone thence, The household came to the cry, Who had been with the king, And whom he had cherished and loved.	1845
WHEN they saw their lord dead, They had great grief in their hearts ; Nothing would make them desist	1850 1855 1860 1865

1840. Cynewulf's death is recounted in AS. Chr. 755, and again mentioned under its true date, 784.

1850. According to the AS. Chr. 755, Cynewulf wounded, but did not kill Cyneheard.

1855. There is an error in the name here. Sigebryht had already been killed. See v. 1825 note.

From going to avenge their lord.
 They attacked them and struck him (Cyneheard).
 They waited for them valiantly.
 He (Cyneheard) promised much and spoke them well,
 And reasoned with the thanes, 1870
 "Lords," he said, "attack me not
 "For I have rightfully avenged myself.
 "You know well, I believe,
 "That I am the son of Sigebryht.
 "I ought, in justice, 1875
 "To hold the kingdom, to lead the people.
 "When this uncle of mine made war on me
 "I could not stay in the land.
 "If I have avenged myself on him for it,
 "You do wrong to marvel. 1880
 "Lords, make great rejoicing,
 "And give me my rank again,
 "By the agreement which I will make
 "I will give back to each of you his honour,
 "And will give you great increase; 1885
 "The poorest I will make rich."
 They replied: "We will not make peace,
 "We defy you as a traitor,
 "You have killed our lord,
 "Let us strike, no delay." 1890
 Then they struck valiantly.
 The others struck back likewise.
 What shall I say? Great was the shock.
 Sigebryht (Cyneheard) was killed that day,
 He and all his companions, 1895
 Except only one lad,
 He was the king's godson.

1868. They, i.e., Cyneheard's party.

1874. Brother. AS. Chr. 755.

1887. D. reads "Pais ne ferum."

1897. The godson of Osric, the ealdorman, who was with Cynewulf's thanes. AS. Chr. 755.

Therefore he escaped, I trow,
 Thus ended this war.
 Then none had wars in the land; 1900
 Neither the uncle nor the nephews,
 Nor the barons who were dead,
 Nor Cumbra, who fought with him,
 Who fled to Andredesweald,
 Whom the swineherd killed in the wood. 1905
 Of low estate was the man who betrayed him.

THE lineage of these two kings,
 And of the nephews of whom I spoke before,
 The descent of their fathers,
 Was reckoned to Cerdic. 1910
 From uncle to nephew,
 From father to son,
 They were of Cerdic's lineage.
 Cynewulf reigned twenty-one years.
 He endured much pain and trouble. 1915
 They carried him to Winchester,
 With great honour they buried him there.
 And his nephews who were killed,
 One they placed at Axminster,
 The other they interred at Defurel.
 Cyneheard was the youth's name. 1920
 This year also was killed
 King Æthelbald, the Mercian.
 At Repton they buried him.
 For his sake they honoured the place for many years.

1903. Cumbra was an ealdorman slain by Sigebryht, AS. Chr. 755. Gaimar, by misunderstanding the Anglo-Saxon, refers the facts mentioned in the next two lines to Cumbra, instead of Sigebryht.

1914. Thirty-one years, AS. Chr. 755, but the dates given by the Chronicle for the length of his reign are, 755 to 784. XXXI is a likely error for XXIX.

1918. Cyneheard was buried at Axminster, AS. Chr. 755, but the burial of another ætheling at Defurel is not mentioned there nor in any other historian.

1921. AS. Chr. 755.

Forty-one years was he king.	1925
After him the Mercians made	
Beornræd king, by such tenure.	
This year was he driven out of the kingdom.	
King Offa drove him out.	
Thirty nine years he (Offa) held the land and	
reigned.	1930
And after him the Mercians	
Made Ecgferth king of the realm.	
He was the son of Offa, who held it before him.	
He reigned enough, good befell him.	
A hundred and forty-one days	1935
He held the kingdom like a righteous man.	
Eadberht was lord in Northumberland.	
Once he began often to say	
That he wished to serve God,	
To become a monk or canon.	1940
Then he departed and forsook all.	
Oswulf, his son, then occupied	
Northumberland, Mercia, and Deira.	
And Bernicia was given up to him.	
One year he lived, then he was killed.	1945
This his wicked servants did,	
Who afterwards were all destroyed,	
Hanged, and all cruelly made away with.	
At this time, so says the history,	
Seven hundred and fifty-nine remembrances	1950
Our ancestors had made,	
From the coming of God to this day.	
So many years there were when died	
The good Cuthbyrht, whom God leved,	
And Moll Æthelwald was made king.	1955
This did the Northumbrians.	

1937. AS. Chr. 757.

1954. Archbishop of Canterbury, AS. Chr. 758.

1955. AS. Chr. 759.

Two years was he king and ruled the land well.
 But he loved peace much less than war.
 In the second year that he reigned
 It was a hard winter, it rained and snowed, 1960
 And froze, and was so cold
 That scarcely anything could protect
 Men or people, or cattle or beasts,
 From the hard winter and the weather.
 It was said that this signified 1965
 The death of king Moll, who then reigned,
 Who was slain on a mountain ;
 Eadwine's Cliff they call it.
 There Anche and Oswine killed him.
 The country favoured Alchred, 1970
 He lived and held the kingdom nine years.
 But the lords altogether
 Forsook him for the right heir (Æthelred).
 They caused him to have his kingdom.
 They received him at York. 1975
 King Alchred was driven away.
 Æthelred was son of king Moll.
 To him the Northumbrians did homage.
 He only reigned four years.
 Then was a sign seen, 1980
 From heaven to earth it stretched,
 In likeness of a cross.
 It was after sunset
 That this sign was seen,
 And then died king Eadberht. 1985
 The English called him Eating (son of Eata).

1957. He reigned six years in all. AS. Chr. 759.

1960. AS. Chr. 761.

1967. Mol was not killed at Eadwine's Cliff, but killed Oswine there.
AS. Chr. 761.

1970. Alchred, king of Northumbria. AS. Chr. 765.

1980. AS. Chr. 773 (774).

1985. Eadberht, king of Northumbria. (See v. 1937.) AS. Chr. 768.

In this year two kings, The kings of Mercia and Kent, Fought a great battle at Otford, Where many a valiant man was slain.	1990
Then were seen serpents Such as no one had ever seen before. They appeared in Sussex. Those who had seen them said That they were black and white,	1995
That they became red and green, Then that they changed into many colours, Seven or eight times in the day. And when it came towards night They sang with such delight,	2000
That under heaven was no instrument Which men would so gladly hear. And when anyone hunted them, The wretch who tried to catch them Was soon bound by the legs	2500
So that he could not move his feet. At that time was dispute and great strife Between two kings for Bensington. King Offa took it; And Cynewulf was very wroth.	2010
A YEAR after were killed Three high-reeves of the country. This did Heardberht and Æthelbald. By them was the attack begun, Ealdulf, Cynewulf, and Ecga,	2015
At King's Cliff and at Helathyrn. And Alfwold seized the kingdom. He drove out king Æthelred. Ten years this king reigned.	

1988. AS. Chr. 773 (774).

1991. AS. Chr. 773 (774).

2011. AS. Chr. 778.

2016. *Eleburnan*]. Helathyrn (AS. Chr.). Thorpe suggests Ellerton.

U 51689.

At this time such was the law,	2020
That, whoever was strong, made war,	
And took his neighbour's land.	
Then was a battle	
Between the Saxons and the host	
Which had come from Saxony.	2025
This was at Portsmouth Haven,	
When they thought to land,	
They encountered the Saxons,	
Who were defending the land from them.	
They were outlaws, therefore they did it.	2030
This year at Seletun (Silton)	
Dan Beorn, a rich lord, was burned.	
The Northumbrians hated him so	
That they burned him in a great fire.	
At this time, as folk know,	2035
From the coming of Jesus,	
There were seven hundred and eighty years	
And two more, I warrant you ;	
For Werburh then died,	
A sainted queen.	2040
Ceolred, the king, had her to wife.	
She lies at Chester in a worthy place,	
And every year is seen there	
That God does great works through her.	
Two years after her death	2045
Two kings were making war.	
One was named Cyneheard.	

2024. Eald Seaxe and Francon. AS. Chr. 779 (780). The Chronicle does not mention the place where the battle was fought.

2034. On December 24 or 25. AS. Chr. 779 (780).

2042. Gainar confuses Werburh, wife of Ceolred, king of Mercia, with Werburh, daughter of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who was buried at Hanbury in 699, and removed to Chester in 875. According to Simeon of Durham, the wife of Ceolred was also an abbess, but he does not say of what monastery. (Hist. Regum., vol. II., p. 50, Rolls Ed.)

2045. AS. Chr. 784.

He killed Cynewulf openly,
 Also eighty-four men
 Did Cyneheard slay there. 2050
 At this time king Beorhtric held
 Wessex sixteen years, as it is written.
 He was buried at Wareham.
 He was one of the descendants of Cerdic.
 Then was Ecgferth raised to be king, 2055
 And the crosier given to Higebryht.
 Messengers came from Rome,
 From Adrian, a holy man,
 To renew the holy law.
 As erst, I trow, did 2060
 St. Augustin and St. Gregory,
 So did this pope.
 And king Offa then gave
 His daughter, whom he largely dowered,
 To king Beorhtric; he gave him his daughter 2065
 Eadburg, who was fair and gentle.
 And at this time the Danes came
 To war upon the English.
 They killed the king's reeve,
 They seized the land and took it. 2070
 Much evil they did through the country,
 Though they had only three ships.
 Then they returned to their country.
 They collected their friends.
 They would come to Britain; 2075
 They would take it from the English.
 For among themselves they reasoned,
 And said that it was their heritage.

2056. AS. Chr. 785. According to Florence of Worcester, Higebryht succeeded Berthun, bishop of Dorchester, in 785, and on the division of the archbishopric of Canterbury by Offa and archbishop Janbryht, he became archbishop of Lichfield, and died 786. W. Malms. de Gestis Regum, p. 119. (Le Neve.)

2063. AS. Chr. 787.

And that many men of their race
 Had inherited the kingdom. 2080
 Before the English entered it,
 Or any man of Saxony dwelt there,
 King Dane ruled the kingdom,
 Who was born in Denmark.
 Thus did Ailbrith and Haveloc, 2085
 And others they named with them.
 Wherefore they said with truth,
 Britain was their just inheritance.
 What matters? They rested much on this;
 At this time they did not depart. 2090
 From Gueneling, from a country,
 Their enemies (the Danes) attacked them.
 Because of this war
 They (the English) had to defend their country.
 At this time of which I speak 2095
 Then was king Alfwold slain.
 He held Northumberland.
 He was a right holy man, wise and valiant.
 King Penda warred against him.
 Sicga beheaded his king. 2100
 In Mescsfeld was he slain.
 The place will be for ever dear.
 For brightness and a great heavenly fire

2083. The other MSS. read, "the Danish King," but the allusion is evidently to the King Dane whom Canute claimed as his ancestor. (See v. 4320.)

2085. For Ailbrith, the other MSS. read Ecbriet and Edbright, forms of Egbert. See the list of kings in the Arundel MS., of which an extract is given at p. xxxij. of the Preface.

2091. The AS. Chr. says the Danes came from Hærethaland. Gueneling looks like a French form of Wendel.

2096. AS. Chr. 789. Gaimar has miscopied this name from the Chronicle, Osewald, and the insertion of Penda and Mescsfeld here, is due to this mistake. See v. 1290. The Chr. says Alfwold was slain 24 September, and buried at Hexham.

Often have clerk and priest seen there.
 But his holy body was taken thence, 2105
 And carried far into the country.
 With piety and care
 It was carried thence to Bardney.
 There they would bury him,
 Love the place, keep the body. 2110
 And in the chronicles it is written
 That he was buried there.
 To Nostell, some say,
 His friends carried him.
 At Hexham many say 2115
 That they have relics of their lord.
 And at Coldesdeburch, in the south,
 There is his arm, by which God works wonders.
 It is entire, God be praised.
 His head is placed entire 2120
 On the breast of St. Cuthbert.
 It rewards him who keeps it.

AND after this the Northumbrians
 Made his nephew their king.
 Osred was his name, he was son of Alchred. 2125
 A short time his pride lasted.
 He was driven from his kingdom.
 To Æthelred then was it given.
 He was son of Æthelwold.
 In war he was strong and bold. 2130
 He had before held the land,

2110. This description of the relics refers to Oswald.

2117. "Colesdeburch el Suth," though in all the MSS. is no doubt wrong. Perhaps it should be "l'eglise de Burch," i.e. Peterborough. In v. 1297, Gaimar says that Oswald's hand is at "Burg," which is explained in the margin as "Burg Sen Pere," perhaps a mistaken version of Bede's statement that the holy relic is at St. Peter's Church, Bebbanburh. But on the other hand, the list of saints in the Breviate of Domesday Book states, that "li Moigne de Burc" say that they possess Oswald's hand. See Preface, vol. I., p. xl.

2123. AS. Chr. 789.

2127. AS. Chr. 790.

But had lost it through his men.
 King Offa hated him sore,
 For his nephew whom he had dispossessed.
 Then Osred returned from exile, 2135
 Who had been king before, and was very gracious.
 But they killed him cruelly,
 Those who had disinherited him.
 At Tynemouth lies his body.
 And Æthelred then took a wife, 2140
 Ælflæd was her name. This queen
 Was much attached to her lord.
 She tried hard to serve him,
 And therefore he loved her much.
 At the time I tell you of 2145
 Signs were shown to the country;
 Red [signs] appeared
 Such as no man living ever saw before.
 Like scarlet they spread,
 They appeared near the earth. 2150
 Then came great whirlwinds,
 Then fiery dragons flew.
 And the lightnings which men saw,
 What they boded, none knew.
 Some said, in their mind, 2155
 That it was for a time of dearth.
 Nor did they say 'very wrong.
 This sign did not seem a dream.
 It was over Northumberland
 That these signs were shown. 2160
 After these signs, verily,
 The heathen people came.
 They landed at the haven of Humber.

2135. AS. Chr. 792.

2145. AS. Chr. 793.

2156. "Cher tens" is Gaimar's translation of "mycel hunger." (AS. Chr. 793.)

They harried Lindsey.
 No minster remained unsacked 2165
 In any place they came to.
 Then died king Sigga.
 He had formerly killed Alfwold.
 And king Offa then sent word
 To the heathen that he would fight, 2170
 And the heathen fought.
 They had too many men, therefore they conquered.
 And the traitors, the Northumbrians,
 Killed Æthelred their king.
 And after Offa Ecgferth reigned. 2175
 Mercia he held and kept.
 When he thought to keep it better,
 He died, he could not escape that.
 The very year that he took possession
 It befell that he lost his life. 2180

EADBERHT was then made king in Kent.
 He had another private name.
 The heathen did not tarry,
 When they had wasted Lindsey,
 Up the Humber they sailed 2185
 As far as the Ouse; then they went
 To the mouth of the Don. It is said,
 And in the chronicles it was written,
 That there was much folk gathered
 To defend their country. 2190

2164. Lindsey is an error for Lindisfarne. (See AS. Chr. 793.)

2167. Sigga died on 22 February, 793. (AS. Chr. 793.)

2168. Gaimar here again writes Osewald for Alfwold.

2174. AS. Chr. 794.

2181. His other name was Præn. (AS. Chr. 794.)

2187. The AS. Chr. states that the heathens plundered Ecgferth's (Ecgfrid) Minster "æt donemuðe." This monastery was at Wearmouth. (Bede, IV. 18.) The Editor of the Mon. Brit. suggests that the correct reading in the Chr. should be "æt ðone muðe." Gaimar has taken "done," as the name of the River Don.

They killed more than thirty men.	
There was a great storm on the water.	
One of their (the heathen) leaders was slain.	
In an ill hour he entered this country.	
Some of their ships were destroyed ;	2195
Some of their men were drowned.	
Nevertheless they did not depart,	
But wasted great part of the country.	
Then the archbishop Eanbald,	
And a bishop, St. Higbald,	2200
Placed Eardwulf on the throne	
At York, the bishopric.	
Northumberland belonged to him.	
These two hallowed him for king,	
And king Offa then died,	2205
Who reigned 40 years, as I think.	
Cenwulf obtained Mercia.	
A warrior king, a strong tyrant.	
He went to Kent and harried it.	
He took Eadberht and led him away.	2210
He was lord of the men of Kent,	
This king took him to Mercia.	
Beorhtric, king of Wessex,	
Left the world in this month ;	
And Egbryht reigned after him.	2215
Ali Wessex he held, I trow.	
Then at this time came the Welsh	
To waste this king's land,	
Straight to Kempsford.	
There were the Welsh slain.	2220

2199. AS. Chr. 795.

2205. AS. Chr. 796.

2207. AS. Chr. 796.

2213. AS. Chr. 800.

2217. The Hwicas, from Worcestershire, according to the AS. Chr.
 Æthelmund was their leader, not of the Wiltshire men, who were
 led by Weohstan.

For Æthelmund with Wiltshire
Made great slaughter of the Welsh.

THEN died king Cuthred.
He reigned in Kent and Thanet.
And the Northumbrians drove Eardwulf, 2225
Their king, from Northumberland,
Eight years after Carle died,
Who had held Cumberland.
He lived forty-five years.
Northumberland was obedient to him. 2230
This country he held all his reign.
Never I think was anyone so great.

IN this year, as the history says,
The true history of Winchester,
King Egbryht harried Wales. 2235
He wasted all the west country,
And then in the east, on his return,
He took all the booty he could find.
Seven years after Cenwulf of Mercia
Died in Basewerce. 2240
And Ceolwulf reigned after him.
Two years he held the land with much weariness.
At the end of two years he lost it.
He was not beloved, therefore he fled.
Such deeds had he done, that all hated him. 2245
Many wished to kill him.
We will leave him; and speak of him
Of a brave king of another kingdom,
Wessex. Egbryht was his name.
Beornwulf raised great strife against him. 2250

2233. AS. Chr. 805 (804).

2225. AS. Chr. 806.

2227. This means Charles the Great. The reference to Cumberland and Northumberland is of course a mistake, due to misapprehension.

2235. AS. Chr. 813 (812, 815).

2238. AS. Chr. 819 (822).

2242. AS. Chr. 821.

2250. AS. Chr. 823.

He was king of Mercia. At Ellendune
 It was shown which was the better.
 On both sides there was great slaughter
 At the battle which they fought,
 In the end, so says the history, 2255
 King Egbryht had the victory.
 King Egbryht had a son
 Who was named Æthelwulf.
 Him and bishop Ealhstan,
 And Wulfheard, he ordered 2260
 To take many of his folk,
 And go to conquer, in Kent.
 And those who went, with a great host,
 Soon drove out king Baldred.
 They conquered the land. 2265
 The king fled over the Thames ;
 And the men of Kent granted
 That Egbryht should have all the kingdom.
 And in Sussex and in Surrey
 His rule went everywhere. 2270
 And the men of Essex for their fiefs
 Sent him hostages.
 This folk received him,
 Because some of his old kinsfolk
 Had once held the land 2275
 And lost it by war.
 And for fear of the Mercians
 They received Egbryht as king ;
 And those of East Anglia also,
 For the fear of the same folk. 2280

AT this time there were two kings
 In the land of the Mercians.
 One was Beornwulf, much pride he showed.
 The other was named Ludecan.

2251. Thorpe suggests Allington as the modern name of Ellendune.

Among them were seven princes.	2285
These two were chief of all.	
And likewise in other kingdoms	
Everywhere there were such lords.	
As soon as one could rise a little	
He had himself called king.	2290
This Ludecan, of whom I first spoke,	
He was killed by the Welsh,	
[And Wiglaf received the kingdom	
Where Ludecan had been].	
At this time Ecgbryht, the king,	2295
Conquered this country and took it for himself.	
And all south of the Humber,	
Men held of him, by reckoning and by number.	
Once there were eight kings in the kingdom,	
Of whom the others held their fiefs.	2300
He was one of them, I think.	
But before him, in the old time,	
There was a valiant king in Sussex,	
Who afterwards conquered Northumberland,	
Ælla was his name, all his life.	2305
The third was called Æthelbryht.	
He was king of Kent, a bold king he was.	
And the fourth was named Rædwald.	
In East Anglia this king reigned,	
A right wise man and well he ended.	2310
The fifth king was named Eadwine;	
He held the kingdom beyond Tyne,	
And the other kingdom of York,	
And all Wessex was his fief.	
The sixth Oswald, the seventh Oswiu.	2315
But the land did not go thus.	

2291. AS. Chr. 825.

2295. AS. Chr. 827.

2305. Gaimar here confuses Ælla, king of the South Saxons, the first Brytenwalda, who came to Britain in 477, with the two kings of Northumbria named Ælla, who died in 588 and 867 respectively.

So that no man, except by war,
 Knew how went the land.
 Nor at that time did anyone know
 Who belonged to each king. 2320
 But monks and canons of abbeys,
 Who wrote the lives of kings.
 Each applied to his companion
 To show the true account
 Of the kings; how long each reigned, 2325
 How he was called; how he died;
 Who was killed, and who deceased.
 Who are preserved, and who decayed.
 And of the bishops also
 The clerks kept record. 2330
 Chronicles, it is called, a big book.
 The English went about collecting it.
 Now it is thus authenticated;
 So that at Winchester, in the cathedral,
 There is the true history of the kings, 2335
 And their lives and their memorials.
 King Alfred had it in his possession,
 And had it bound with a chain.
 Who wished to read, might well see it,
 But not remove it from its place. 2340
 The eighth king was named Ceawlin.
 He had the West Saxons with him.
 He was king of one part.
 In this kingdom was his lordship.
 Of the other part Egbryht was king, 2345
 Who afterwards reigned over the Southumbrians.
 And when he had conquered so far,
 He led his host beyond Humber.
 At Dore was he received.

2349. Stevenson suggests that Dorewit or Dorewik (D.L. II.). and
 Everwik (R.), are a misunderstanding of the phrase in the AS. Chr.,
 "Eggbriht lædde fyrde to Dore wið Norðanhumbra."

Then was he king of North and South.	2350
Wiglaf recovered the kingdom.	
He was king again over Mercia.	
In this year king Ecgbryht	
Gained to himself the North Welsh.	
All with their good will	2355
Ecgbryht gained them over.	
Two years after, truly,	
Then came the heathen folk.	
They harried all Sheppey.	
They cared for no man.	2360
The next year after, Ecgbryht went	
And led his host against the heathen.	
With the heathen he fought a great battle.	
Many men died there without fail.	
The battle was at Charmouth.	2365
Many good lords died there,	
But the heathen were the stronger ;	
They drove back Ecgbryht with loss.	
THEN came another fleet.	
In West Wales they held council.	2370
They talked over the West Welsh,	
So that they held with the Danes.	
Together they went fighting,	
Doing much evil through the country.	
Then they met king Ecgbryht,	2375
And entered his land.	
Hengestdown (Hengston) is the hill called	
Where they gave him battle.	

2351. AS. Chr. 828.

2359. AS. Chr. 832.

2361. AS. Chr. 833 (834).

2370. *Concire, cunsire*, translated *council*, is not *conseil* altered for the sake of rhyme, of which instances occur with other words, but a noun formed from *consirer* = *considerer*.

2371. AS. Chr. 835.

There he made havoc of them.
 Conquered were the cruel heathen. 2380
 Then had the age lasted,
 From the nativity of Christ,
 Eight hundred and thirty-seven years,
 As clerks who read say.
 At that time, at that place, 2385
 Died Ecgbryht who possessed so much.
 This was he who chased Offa.
 Thirty-seven years and one month he reigned.
 Then Æthelwulf, his son, reigned,
 And Æthelstan, a noble king. 2390
 One had Wessex, the other Kent ;
 Surrey and Sussex also.
 And they wished to claim
 To rule all that their father had.
 THEN came a right strong fleet. 2395
 It landed at the port of Hampton.
 There were thirty-three ships.
 I think God hated them much,
 Because by Wulfheard, a brave ealdorman,
 Great havoc was made of them. 2400
 He fought with them.
 Many he killed, and overcame.
 The same year the man died.
 If he could have lived longer,
 As ancient people say, 2405
 He would have done much damage to the heathen ;
 But the heathen joined together,
 And did evil and warred.
 Their folk came, cruel Danes,
 And killed many lords. 2410
 Then they killed Æthelhelm.

 2386. AS. Chr. 836.

2396. AS. Chr. 837.

2411. AS. Chr. 837.

He gave them battle.
 He was so brave and valiant,
 And so mighty in battle,
 That when the English had lost him, 2415
 No such good shield remained to them.
 To London straightway went
 The Danes to give battle.
 There they did their pleasure.
 Many then they put to death. 2420
 Thence they went to Rochester.
 There they fought a battle in the field.
 Many peasants they killed,
 But most fled.
 He who could enter the city 2425
 Was saved and well cared for ;
 And he who could not, was not saved,
 Unless he fled to some other part.
 THENCE they went to Sandwich,
 But were not welcomed. 2430
 All the men of Kent were assembled.
 In an open field they met them.
 Fiercely they fought ;
 But yet the Danes conquered.
 If it had not been for the town, which was shut up,
 Many Kentish men would have been slain ; 2436
 But by means of the town many escaped ;
 The rest all perished.
 King Æthelwulf then reigned.
 He went through the country against them ; 2440
 And the Danes from all parts
 Came in their ships.

2417. AS. Chr. 839.

2429. The various MSS. of AS. Chr. read Cwantawic, Cantwic, and Cantwarabirig. This battle at Sandwich is mentioned in the Chronicle under the year 851 (853).

2442. AS. Chr. 840.

At Charmouth king Æthelwulf
 Fought with the Danes;
 But the Danes had the victory, 2445
 So the king of glory permitted.

A.D. 845. THEN there were eight hundred and forty-five years
 Since Christ came into the world.

In this year fought
 Eanulf, the ealdorman, and defeated the Danes. 2450
 Another ealdorman, his name was Osric,
 Was with him as captain.

One led the men of Dorset,
 The other the men of Somerset.
 At the mouth of the Parret 2455

The Danes were beaten this year.
 Ceorl, the ealdorman pursued them;
 He never stopped till he came to Thanet.
 The lords of Devonshire
 Helped him in the pursuit. 2460

They began at Wembury (?).
 They drove them as far as Thanet.
 There they were all the winter time.
 Other ships returning
 Came thither, against the summer. 2465

To Canterbury they went.
 They broke into and spoiled the city;
 They defeated King Beohrtwulf;
 They put to flight the king of Mercia,
 As far as the city of Luie. 2470

And the heathen went into Surrey.
 This was force and craft;

2450. AS. Chr. 845.

2457. Different versions of the AS. Chr. put the battle of Wiganbeorh six or eight years later, 851 and 853.

2466. AS. Chr. 851 (853).

2470. No place is mentioned in the AS. Chr. in connexion with Beohrtwulf's flight, but London (Lundenburg) is said to have been stormed as well as Canterbury. "Luie" may perhaps be due to a mistaken reading of Lundenburg.

For Æthelwulf, the chief king,
 And his son Æthelbald, I trow,
 Fought at Ockley. 2475
 The West Saxons did so well
 That they defeated all the Danes;
 Many a man lost his life there.
 This same year, at Sandwich,
 The Danes were again defeated, 2480
 By Æthelstan and by Ealchere.
 Æthelstan was the king's brother.
 The one was brother to king Æthelwulf.
 He alone was chief king of East Anglia.
 Ealchere was an ealdorman holding of him. 2485
 He slew more than twenty Danes,
 And from their ships, which they had brought
 Into the Thames, wherever they found them
 They took men and their goods.
 They had none of them spared. 2490
 Whatever harm a man can do
 He ought to wreak on his enemy.
 WHEN these Danes were here,
 Burhred was king of Mercia.
 By help of the noble Æthelwulf, 2495
 He made the North Welsh obey him.
 In the same year that this happened,
 Ealchere, the king who then held Kent,
 With the men of Kent, and with the ealdorman Huda,
 Who had the men of Surrey to aid, 2500
 Went against the Danes
 In the Isle of Thanet.
 They fought with the heathen.
 Little they gained, lives they lost.
 Huda and Ealchere were killed. 2505

2479. AS. Chr. 851 (853).

2493. "The king" is a gratuitous addition of Gaimar. The AS. Chr. only says "mid Cantwarum."

2494. AS. Chr. 853 (854).

They could not escape better.
 Then Burhred of Mercia took
 The daughter of Æthelwulf to wife.
 A year after the Danes came
 To Sheppey, with their troops. 2510
 With their troops and ships
 They spent the winter there till March.
 In the year of which I have spoken
 King Æthelwulf divided his land.
 All his land he divided, 2515
 And gave it to the honour of God.
 Then after he had had his heir acknowledged
 He went straight to Rome.
 With great honour he went to Rome,
 And tarried there a whole year. 2520
 Then on his return he married
 The daughter of Charles, who gave her to him.
 This was the daughter of the king of France.
 Always he strove to do honour.
 Two years after this he died. 2525
 Nineteen years this king reigned,
 As the old story tells.
 He was buried at Winchester.
 He was son of King Ecgbryht,
 Who made the kingdom submit to him. 2530
 His two sons received his kingdom
 Whom he had by his first wife.
 Æthelbald had all Wessex,
 And Æthelbryht, Kent and Sussex,
 And Essex and Surrey. 2535
 Powerful kings were they in their life.
 Five years reigned king Æthelbald,
 Then he departed, life failed him.
 They laid his body at Sherborne.

 2509. AS. Chr. 855 (856).

2526. Eighteen years and a half. AS. Chr. 855 (856).

2537. AS. Chr. 860 (861).

He made the Danes grieve in his time.	2540
King Æthelbryht was his brother.	
He took Wessex, as was right.	
Six years he reigned in these kingdoms.	
Then he departed. They carried him	
To Sherborne, after his brother.	2545
Then fell the master of the English.	
With the two kings they had lost,	
They had often conquered the Danes.	
IN the time that these reigned,	
A heathen horde wasted	2550
The country of Winchester ;	
But two ealdormen, who ruled there,	
Kept for the king the country,	
Which is called Hampshire.	
Osric and Æthelwulf were their names.	2555
Both were powerful lords.	
Osric had the men of Hampshire,	
And Æthelwulf those of Berkshire.	
So they fought on the spot.	
They had the victory over the Danes.	2560
Then came the Danes to Thanet,	
Who had the Kentish men for servants.	
They took truce with this folk ;	
Then they harried all the east,	
But a king who reigned then	2565
Warred against them right willingly,	
Æthelred, the brother of the two kings	
Who had reigned before.	
At this time came the great fleet,	
No man ever saw a fleet who did not see this.	2570

2544. Five years according to the AS. Chr.

2550. AS. Chr. 860 (861).

2561. AS. Chr. 865 (866).

2564. AS. Chr. 866 (867).

2570. D.L. II. read :—No man who wears clothes ever saw the like.

In East Anglia they landed.
 All the winter they stayed there.
 In March, in mockery,
 They granted a truce to this folk.
 Then they took horses, 2575
 The best of their men,
 And most of them went in ships
 As far as Humber, sails set.
 More than twenty thousand went on foot.
 Soon you will hear of great marvels. 2580
 These Danes returned.
 At Grimsby they passed the Humber,
 And those on foot likewise.
 Great plenty they had of men;
 And those who were with the ships 2585
 All went to York.
 Both by water and by land,
 They waged great war at York.
 THOSE who came by water
 Sailed as far as the Ouse; 2590
 But directly the sun was hidden
 The tide turned,
 And they then quartered themselves there;
 Some on the water, some in tents;
 But the chief men, the lords, 2595
 Went into houses in the town.
 There dwelled a noble man,
 Beorn Butsecarl was his name.
 He lodged all the lords
 Very richly, with great honour. 2600
 He had brought them thus together,
 And summoned them from Denmark
 On account of the shame of his wife,
 Which he desired eagerly to avenge.

A GREAT shame was done to her. 2605
 Osbryht held Northumberland.
 He dwelt at York.
 One day he went to the forest.
 He went to hunt in the Vale of Ouse.
 Privily he went to eat 2610
 At the house of this thane,
 Who was named Beorn the Butsecarl.
 The goodman was then at sea.
 For outlaws he was wont to watch.
 And the lady, who was very fair, 2615
 Of whom the king had heard a report,
 Was at the house, as was right;
 She had no liking for evil.
 Now behold the king come;
 With great honour was he received. 2620
 When he had eaten as much as he would,
 Then he spake the folly which he thought.
 " Lady, I wish to speak with you,
 " Let the room be cleared."
 All went out of the chamber 2625
 Except two who kept the doors.
 These were the king's companions.
 They well knew his secrets.
 The lady did not perceive
 Why the king did thus. 2630
 When he took her, against her will,
 He did his will with her.
 Then he departed, left her weeping.
 To York he spurred,
 And when he was with his favourites 2635
 Often he joked about it.

THE lady mourned much,
 For the shame he had done her.

2631. Stevenson translates *estre son gre*, to do his pleasure, but *estre* is the French for *extra*, and the phrase means "beyond her desire."

She lost all her colour
 From the sorrow he had caused her. 2640
 Then behold Beorn was grieved,
 Who was very noble and gentle.
 Among all the seafaring men
 There was no braver man on land.
 Nor in the kingdom where he was born 2645
 Was there any man with better kindred.
 When he saw his wife pale,
 And saw her weak and thin,
 And found her quite changed
 From what she was when he left her, 2650
 Then he asked what this should be,
 What it meant, and what was the matter with her.
 She said to him, "I will tell you,
 " I will accuse myself,
 " Then do to me such justice 2655
 " As if I was taken in theft."
 He replied, " What has happened?"
 " Lately the king lay with me.
 " By force he did his wickedness.
 " Now it is right that I should lose my life. 2660
 " Though this was done secretly
 " I wish to die openly.
 " Rather would I die than live longer."
 Fainting she fell at his feet,
 And he replied, " Rise up, my love, 2665
 " For this you shall not be hated.
 " Weakness cannot resist strength.
 " In you are many good signs.
 " As you have first confessed this to me,
 " I will have much pity on you. 2670
 " But if you had hidden it from me
 " Till another showed it to me,
 " Never would my heart have loved you,
 " Nor my mouth have kissed you.
 " As this felon did his felony, 2675

" I will seek that he lose his life."

Night fell. But at morn

To York he took his way.

He found the king among his people.

Beorn had there many good kinsfolk. 2680

The king saw him. He called him.

Beorn at once defied him.

" I defy thee, and give thee back all.

" I will hold nothing of thee,

" Never will I hold aught of thee, 2685

" Thy homage I return to thee."

Then he left the house.

With him came out many good lords.

THEN he took counsel of his kin.

He complained to them of the shame; 2690

How the king had treated him ;

He told and related the whole to them.

Then he told them that he would go away,

If he could, he would bring the Danes.

Never would his mind be at rest 2695

Till he was avenged of the king.

And his kinsfolk promised

That they would drive him (the king) out of the
country.

So they did. For this misdeed

They immediately left the king. 2700

So they made king of the country

A knight whose name was Ælla.

THEN it happened, as you hear,

That he brought in the Danes.

At Cawood were lodged 2705

Those who came on board the ships,

But most of the Danes

Came through the midst of Holderness,

2700. AS. Chr. 867 (868). Ælla was not of royal blood, according to the Chronicle.

And then by the waste country
 Till they were near the city. 2710
 And the fleet came to meet them.
 The king who then held the country
 Was that day gone into the forest,
 When they came to the city.
 But the other king remained 2715
 He who was deprived of the keys.
 When the Danes attacked
 A little while they defended themselves.
 But a short space lasted their defence,
 Then the Danes gained the battle. 2720
 Soon then was the city taken.
 There was great slaughter of men.
 Osbryht, the king, was killed.
 Beorn his enemy was avenged.
 KING Ælla was in the wood, 2725
 Four hinds he had then taken.
 He was seated at his dinner.
 He heard a man ring a bell.
 In his hand he held a little bell.
 It rang as clear as an *eschelette*, 2730
 The king desired that he should come forward;
 That he should have something to eat; for he asked
 for it.
 As the king sat at his meat,
 He said to a knight
 " We have done very well to-day. 2735
 " We have killed what we hunted,

2728. *Uns hom* should be nominative, but the above appears to be the meaning.

2730. " Dans le latin du moyen-âge *tintinnabulum* signifiait souvent une espèce d'instrument composé de plusieurs clochettes de divers calibres suspendues en file à une barre de bois ou de fer et donnant des sons différents quand on les frappait l'une après l'autre en cadence. Ce *tintinnabulum* paraît avoir été traduit par *eschelettes*."—Burguy, Grammaire de la langue d'oïl, iii., 138.

" Four hinds and six roes.
 " Often have we hunted worse."
 The blind man heard him, sitting far off;
 Then he spake a word of truth: 2740
 " Though you taken so much in the forest,
 " You have lost all this country.
 " The Danes have done better,
 " Who have taken York,
 " And killed many thanes there. 2745
 " Osbryht's enemies have killed him."
 The king replied "How know you this?"
 " My wit has shown it me.
 " For a sign, if you do not believe me,
 " Your sister's son, whom you see there, 2750
 " Orrum, will be the first killed
 " In the battle at York.
 " There will be a great battle.
 " If you believe me you will not go forward
 " And yet it cannot be otherwise. 2755
 " A king must lose his head there."
 The king replied: "Thou hast lied.
 " Thou shalt be taken and evilly intreated.
 " If this be not true, thou shalt lose thy life.
 " Thou must pay for thy sorcery." 2760
 The blind man replied, "I agree to this.
 " If this be untrue, kill me."
 The king had him led with him.
 He ordered him to be well guarded.
 In a high tower 2765
 He placed his nephew, that he might stay there.
 Then he gave him a task
 And promised to send for him.
 The folk of the land gathered,
 And went with the king to York. 2770

2767. Or perhaps:—Then he said, that if he survived, he promised to send for him.

They met wounded men enough,
And runaways, who told them
All that the fortuneteller had said.
Not one word had he lied.
And king Ælla with many folk 2775
Rode on fiercely.
But his nephew did great folly
Whom he had left in the tower.
He took two shields which he found,
He went to the window. 2780
In the shields he put his two arms ;
He thought to fly, but a great crash
He came against the earth, when he fell.
But yet he escaped,
So that he was none the worse for it. 2785
He saw a horse, he straightway took it.
A youth was there
Who held the horse by the rein.
Three javelins had he in his hand.
Orrum was no coward. 2790
He seized the javelins straightway.
The horse also he took at once.
Then he mounted. He rode off at once.
The host was already near York.
And he spurred so, that he came to the front. 2795
The hosts were assembling.
He thought, as a lighthearted man,
That he would strike the first blow.
At the squadron, which met him,
He threw the javelin which he held. 2800
He struck a horseman
So that it entered his mouth.
Behind his neck it came out.
He could not stand on his feet, the body
Fell dead. It could not be otherwise. 2805
He was a heathen. He needed not a priest.

ORRUM held another dart,
 Which he threw to the other side.
 He struck a wicked Dane with it.
 He aimed well at him, he did not miss. 2810
 Under the nipple it entered.
 It went to his heart. It struck him dead.
 But when he (Orrum) would turn back,
 An archer let fly a dart.
 It struck him under the chest, 2815
 So that mortal tidings reached his heart.
 His soul fled, his body fell,
 As the blind man had declared.
 King Ælla when he knew this,
 Never before had such grief in his heart. 2820
 Hardily he shouted.
 He pierced through two squadrons;
 But he did this like a mad man
 Who had lost all self-control.
 Danes were on all sides. 2825
 King Ælla was slain.
 He was killed in the field,
 Few of his men escaped.
 The place where he was struck dead
 Is now called Ellecroft. 2830
 Towards the west there is a cross.
 It is in the middle of England.
 The English call it Ellecross.
 The Danes never rested
 Until they had conquered all 2835
 This country to the north of Humber.
 BUT then they besieged the city.
 They did their will everywhere.
 When they had put a garrison there
 They went to Mercia; in one country 2840

The Danes took Nottingham.
 Ingvar and Ubba were their kings.
 All the winter they stayed there.
 The Mercians assembled a host.
 King Burhred assembled an army, 2845
 He had sent to king Æthelred,
 Who was king of Wessex.
 He had a brother Ælfred,
 Who well knew how to give counsel,
 And order a battle; 2850
 And well he knew how to make war.
 He was a clerk and a good astronomer.
 These came with the host they had called.
 They attacked Nottingham;
 But the Danes who were within 2855
 Lightly retreated.
 All were glad when they took a truce.
 Afterwards they went on their way,
 And the Danes according to their wont
 Made a feast, each by himself. 2860
 . THEN they went back to York.
 The folk of the land assembled;
 They sent for the Mercians.
 They went in the army with the Danes.
 They came, and the folk of the North, 2865
 With the Danes as far as Thetford.
 They had already made a truce,
 So they thought themselves safe.
 [The Danes] broke peace and truce,
 They harried all the country. 2870
 They found a king in this land,
 A good Christian and a friend of God.

 2842. AS. Chr. 876 (871).

2845. AS. Chr. 868 (869).

2861. AS. Chr. 869 (870).

2866. AS. Chr. 870 (871).

Saint
Edmund.

Eadmund was his name, a holy man.
 He held all East Anglia.
 With all the men he had, 2875
 He fought; he could not conquer,
 Because of the many men the Danes had.
 Very fiercely they fought,
 The victory of the field was theirs.
 O God! What a loss was the lord, 2880
 The king Eadmund, who was driven
 To a castle where his seat was.
 And the heathen pursued him.
 Eadmund came out to meet them.
 The first who met him 2885
 Took him and then asked,
 "Where is Eadmund? tell us."
 "Willingly, and at once.
 "When I was in flight
 "Eadmund was there and I with him. 2890
 "When I turned to flee, he turned,
 "I know not if he will escape you."
 "Now the end of the king rests with God,
 "And with Jesus, whom he obeys."
 Those who took him kept him 2895
 Until Ingvar and Ubba came.
 Many of their folk came with them
 Who recognised Saint Eadmund,
 And when they knew him, these unbelievers
 Cruelly bade him 2900
 Renounce God's law,
 And Christ who was born of the Virgin.
 The king told them he would not do it,
 But would firmly believe in Him.
 What then did these enemies? 2905
 They tied him to a tree,
 Then they told him and swore hard,
 That he should be tormented with a strange death.
 Then they sent for their archers.

They shot at the king with longbows. 2910
 So have they shot him and so pierced him
 That his body was stuck as full
 Of the darts which these wretches shot
 As is the skin of an urchin
 Thick with prickly spines 2915
 When he steals apples from the garden.
 Till now, I trow, they might have shot at him
 Before the king would have done anything
 Of what these wretches wished,
 Who so treated his holy body. 2920
 Then they called a wretch
 Whose name was Coran Colbe.
 He cut off the saint's head.
 Thus was Eadmund martyred,
 But if Gaimar had leisure, 2925
 He would say more of the holy martyr.
 Because his life is elsewhere,
 And the reading, and the story,
 He has left it this time
 For the history which he had begun. 2930
 THESE cruel kings, Ubba and Ingvar,
 Did thus with his holy body.
 When they had done this, they departed thence,
 Straight to Reading they went.
 But slowly they marched, 2935
 Towns they destroyed and cities.
 They killed Christians as they went,
 And destroyed their churches.
 When they were come to Reading,
 The West Saxons went out. 2940
 They went to meet their king,
 Where he had assembled his host.
 And the Danes remained two days.
 Always they wrought evil whithersoever they turned.

At the third day they made ready. 2945
 Two earls who had ridden thither
 Went to Englefield.
 They found Æthelwulf there.
 He was a great lord of the country.
 He had assembled his friends, 2950
 His men and his forces,
 Who killed many of the Danes,
 And one of the earls was killed,
 Sidroc, who was cruel and warlike.
 THE fourth day after king Æthelred 2955
 Came, and his brother Ælfred,
 To Reading, with a great host,
 And the Danes soon sallied out.
 In an open field they fought a battle
 Which did not cease all day. 2960
 There was Æthelwulf slain,
 The great man of whom I just spoke,
 And Æthelred and Ælfred
 Were driven to Wiscet.
 This is a ford towards Windsor, 2965
 Near a lake in a marsh.
 Thither the one host came pursuing,
 And did not know the ford over the river.
 Twyford has ever been the name of the ford,
 At which the Danes turned back, 2970
 And the English escaped.
 But many were killed and wounded.
 Here were the Danes victors,
 But, after this, right on the fourth day,
 On Ashdown met 2975
 These folk, who loved not each other.
 These were Danes and English,

2964. The Editor of the Mon. Brit. suggests that Wiscet is Whistley Park, near Twyford. The ford is over the Loddon, not the Thames.

2975. AS. Chr. 871 (872).

Who had ere this fought together.
 There they made their folk divide
 Into two battles, to attack. 2980
 For pride the Danes did this.
 In one battle were their two kings.
 Bagsæc and Healfdene were their names.
 With them were many good champions.
 In the other battle were earls. 2985
 Sidroc the old, who knew how to strike,
 And with him the young Sidroc,
 Who was of the kin of king Haveloc,
 And earl Asbiörn and earl Fræna,
 Earl Harald, nephew of Healfdene. 2990
 With them were many lords,
 And good and tried knights.
 And the English on the other side
 Divided themselves, nor made delay.
 King Æthelred, against the kings, 2995
 Fought with his English.
 And Ælfred against the earls.
 This day the Danes were shamed,
 For the English drove them off,
 Conquered them on the field, and put them to the
 sword. 3000
 Many thousands of them were killed.
 Ill was it for them they came into the country.
 Bagsæc, the king, was slain there,
 Earl Sidroc, the tall, the strong,
 And the earls I have told you of, 3005
 Eleven of them were killed on the field.
 AND a fortnight after this
 The cruel people gathered again.
 At Basing they fought.
 Those who [before] conquered were driven off. 3010

2990. Halfdene is the reading of D. and H. The scribe of R. perhaps was led by the mention of Haveloc to think of the mythical king Dane.

A month after at Merton,
 The men of Saxony were vanquished.
 Heahmund, the bishop, was killed
 Who ruled at Winchester.
 Then came a Dane, a tyrant, 3015
 Whose name was Sumerlede the Great.
 He came to Reading with his host.
 Whatever he found he straightway destroyed.
 King Æthelred wished to fight him,
 But he died. He lies in his place. 3020
 At Wimborne this king is buried,
 Who only held the kingdom five years.
 THEN reigned king Ælfred.
 Æthelwulfing was he called.
 And the Danes gathered then. 3025
 They went to seek him in Wessex.
 They found him at Wilton,
 With a few folk whom he had gathered.
 He fought, it was in vain.
 They drove him to the wood from the plain, 3030
 And in the year that he was made king
 Nine battles fought he with the Danes,
 Besides encounters and frays,
 Which were between them many days.
 And in that year were slain 3035
 Nine powerful earls.
 They were from Denmark,

3013. Heahmund was bishop of Sherborne, succeeding Ahlstan, who died in 867. Le Neve, iii., 592.

3016. "Sumerlede le grant" is a misconception of the meaning of a sentence in the AS. Chr. 871 (872), "æfter þisum gefeohte com mycel sumerlida to Readingum." As Thorpe has pointed out, Æthelweard's (cap. iii.) phrase *æstivus exercitus* is probably the correct translation of the AS. word. Buchanan (Rerum Scot. Lib. vii.) mentions a powerful Scotch thane, named Sumerled, who raised an insurrection in Argyle and was finally defeated about 1163. His name may have been familiar to Gaimar, and hence the mistake.

3027. AS. Chr. 871 (872).

With them seven thousand men,
 And king Bagsæc, their lord.
 Ælfred had the victory over them. 3040
 And in this year all the Danes
 Took truce from Ælfred the king.
 Then they left Reading.
 They spent the winter at London.
 And in the summer the Mercians 3045
 Took truce with the Danes.
 The winter after the hated race
 Stayed at Torksey,
 The third winter at Repton.
 Burhred was the king, and the right possessor. 3050
 Mercia was his kingdom.
 By force they drove him out.
 Twenty-two years he had held it
 When he was driven from the kingdom.
 The king went to Rome. 3055
 That very year he departed.
 In the minster of St. Mary,
 In the English school, he lost his life.
 There was this lord
 Buried with great honour. 3060
 THEN the Danes procured that they delivered
 Mercia to the Child Ceolwulf.
 He gave them hostages
 That he would serve them faithfully.
 Then they departed different ways. 3065
 Ingvar stayed in London,
 And Healfdene, the other king,
 Went to war against the Picts,
 And on Streclued, king of Galloway.

3043. AS. Chr. 872 (873).

3048. AS. Chr. 873 (874).

3049. AS. Chr. 874 (875).

3069. "Streclued reis de Geleweie" is a mistranslation of "Stræclæd Wealas," the Welsh of Strathclyde. AS. Chr. 875 (876).

- Often he put them in evil case. 3070
 Kings Guthorm and Oskytel,
 And Amund, took council,
 That they should go to Cambridge
 And besiege the city.
 Thus they did. With their great host 3075
 They came full soon from Repton.
 For a whole year they maintained the siege.
 At the end, like fools, they departed.
 Much they lost there, little they gained there.
 Secretly then they rode 3080
 Straight to Wareham and besieged it.
 In one day they took the town.
- KING Ælfred then went thither,
 And led the host of Wessex.
 He brought so many men of his own kingdom 085
 And of other folk whom he had summoned,
 That the Danes fled.
 They held a parley at his wish.
 This the three kings swore to him,
 And the best of the Danes, 3090
 And gave good hostages,
 Such as the English demanded,
 That they would depart without delay,
 And would in no way do him wrong.
 With this truce they departed. 3095
 Now hear what the Danes did:
 In the night and in secret
 They went to Exeter.
 Those on horseback took the city by surprise.
 The others went in ships. 3100
 They wished to go to the city.
 There they were to meet.
 But then a hindrance befel them.

They were in danger at sea,
 A hundred and forty ships 3105
 Went to the devils;
 And king Ælfred, when he heard it,
 Sent for his men and his people.
 Then it happened (it could no other be)
 He laid siege to Exeter, 3110
 And the heathen who were settled there
 Had suffered for want of their friends
 Whom they had lost in the fleet,
 And of their good company.
 Therefore, when they could hold out no longer, 3115
 They held a parley to save themselves.
 They gave such hostages
 As the English asked.
 Then they swore to keep the peace;
 They would always serve the king. 3120
 When they had done this, they went to Mercia.
 Between them they divided that kingdom.
 They gave Ceolwulf a share,
 Who had been king of all.
 THEN, at Christmas, the cruel Danes, 3125
 Who had before sworn peace,
 Broke the peace, the faithless men.
 Into Wessex they went again.
 At Chippenham they established themselves.
 Willingly they did evil. 3130
 Churches they destroyed and houses,
 Chapels and monks.
 They drove the people out of the country.
 Many they put in prison.
 King Ælfred, who was their lord, 3135
 Knew not what to do nor say.
 From all parts he sent for men,

 3105. 120 ships. AS. Chr. 877 (878).

3125 On Twelfth night. AS. Chr. 878 (879).



But could gather very few.
 When he saw that he was so beset,
 And so evil handled by his enemies, 3140
 He kept to the woods and deserts,
 To escape their bloody hands.
 And nevertheless, when he could,
 With all the men he had,
 He met them twice. 3145
 Often he slew some of them.
 A brother of Ingvar and Healfdene
 Was killed in Penwood.
 Ubba was his name, an evil doer.
 Over him the Danes made 3150
 A great mound, when they found him.
 They called it Ubbelawe.
 The mound is in Devonshire.
 There was great slaughter of folk.
 Eight hundred and forty died there. 3155
 What matter? felons, perjurers, they were.
 Taken was the war flag
 Of Ubba, called the Raven.
 AFTER Easter this year,
 With few folk, with great trouble, 3160
 Good king Ælfred built
 A fort at Athelney.
 He had a stronghold made there,
 By which he gave the Danes trouble.
 Four weeks after Easter 3165
 He rode to Ecbryht's stone,
 Which is to the east of Selwood.
 Ceolmer met him and Chude

3148. Asser, in the *De Gestis Ælfredi, s.a.*, 878, states that this battle was *ante arcem Cynuit* in Devonshire, now called Kenny (Kinuith) Castle on the Taw, near Appledore.

3158. The Raven was embroidered by Ubba's three sisters. Asser, *loc. cit.*

3166. Ecbryhtes stane is generally taken to be Brixton Deverill, Wilts.

With the thanes of Somerset,
 Of Wiltshire and Dorset. 3170
 From Hampshire came Chilman,
 Who had summoned the thanes.
 And those came who had remained
 This side of the sea, who had not fled.
 And when they saw their lord, 3175
 Greatly they praised the Creator,
 Because they had found him alive.
 For he had been long lost,
 And they thought in their hearts
 That the Danes had killed him. 3180
 They took great comfort of their king,
 That he was alive and not dead.
 Then they took counsel,
 King Ælfred and his faithful ones,
 That they rode all night, 3185
 And the next day, as far as they could.
 Then they went that night
 Till they arrived at Iley.
 And the next day at the hour of nones
 They came to Edington. 3190
 There they found the Danes.
 King Ælfred fought.
 But I cannot say by guess
 Of whom was the greater number killed ;
 Whether of the Danes or the English ; 3195
 But this I know well, that there the good king
 Ælfred then had the victory,
 And his thanes, with great honour.
 Afterwards he often rode against them,
 And made many attacks on them. 3200

3188. *Æglea*, Asser de Gestis Ælfredi *loc. cit.* *Iglea*, *Æglea*, AS. Chr. 878 (879). Thorpe gives Iley as the modern name, but I can find no such place between Brixton Deverill and Edington or Heddington.

3190. Edington, near Westbury, not far from which place (on Bratton Hill) is a white horse said to be in memory of this battle.

In fifteen days he so daunted them,
 These Danes I tell you of,
 That they had a parley; they agreed together,
 And gave good hostages,
 And swore, however many they were, 3205
 That they would never desert him.
 And still more they promised him,
 And asked him for Christianity.
 And the king said, when he heard this,
 That he would do it willingly. 3210
 He gave them a day to return,
 Twenty-eight days, a whole month.
 They came on that day.
 They brought their lord;
 King Guthorm, they brought him. 3215
 And the nearest of his kin
 Came with him to baptism.
 Thirty were there when he was signed with the cross.
 The king presented them,
 Gave them names and good angels. 3220
 At the font, king Guthorm
 Was then called Æthelstan,
 And the thirty his companions
 Each for himself changed names.
 At Aller they were baptised, 3225
 Made Christians and crossed.
 It is near Athelney
 That this assembly was held.
 At Wedmore was the chrism loosing.
 And twelve days they tarried there 3230
 With Ælfred the noble king,
 Who honourably entertained them.
 And he and his good companions

3218. *primsener*. See v. 1204.

3229. The original reading for *dous abez* (*desabez*, D.) was perhaps *desliez*,
 a translation of *crism lising* in the AS. Chr. 878 (879).

Gave them many rich gifts.	
Then had from the Nativity	3235
The ages lasted eight hundred years	
And nineteen years more,	
As is testified in the books	
From which the wise men have knowledge,	
Who know true history.	3240
At this time, thus saith my master,	
King Gurmund came to Cirencester.	
Then he sent for the host	
From Chippenham, which soon came.	
And they came, they did not tarry.	3245
All the winter they sojourned there.	
Then in the summer, in the month of April,	
They sent many wretches into exile.	
From Cirencester they departed.	
They went into East Anglia.	3250
King Gurmund, by his counsel,	
Placed rulers in that land.	
After this, he sent an order	
For the host which was at Fulham.	
They met him by the sea.	3255
Everywhere he ordered throughout his empire	
That he who would not come	
Should die an ill death.	
He gathered more than a hundred kings,	
With their great host, with their armour,	3260
At Yarmouth they went to sea,	

3237. Nineteen should be seventy-nine.

3242. It is not clear whom Gaimar means by *mi mestre*. The AS. Chr. 879 (880), 880 (881) mentions the army (*i.e.* the Danes) going from Cirencester to East Anglia, and *s. a.*, 890 (891), the death of Guthorm who had occupied East Anglia. See v. 3381. But Gurmund is the name of a Dane who ravaged Normandy, and was killed in 882. (Dom Bouquet, viij., 273-4.) The account of the French raid does not follow the chronology of the AS. Chr.

3254. AS. Chr. 880 (881).

And arrived at Chezy.
 They hauled their ships on land ;
 They thought to have no more need of them.
 Then they wasted all that country 3265
 To the land of St. Valery.
 On they went, they entered Ponthieu.
 The country people mourned.
 Then they desecrated St. Riquier :
 They broke the crucifixes, 3270
 They spread over the whole country.
 Many lords and many men they killed there.
 Because this country was fertile,
 Gurmund sojourned there long.
 But his great host went forward. 3275
 They did not stop till they came to Ghent.
 There they were all the winter time.
 Much evil they did in every way.
 And the French gathered slowly.
 They sought Gurmund till they found him. 3280
 There they fought with him ;
 He was slain, the French conquered.
 And the host, which had gone forward,
 And had sojourned at Ghent,
 Turned back thence and came to France. 3285
 I think the French will fight,
 So they did. But they had few men,
 And too much rashness.
 All without their king, they fought.
 They lost much of their gear. 3290
 King Louis was wounded ;
 Therefore they were discomfited.
 And by the wound which he received

3262. According to the AS. Chr. the Danes went up the Maese in 882,
 and up to the Marne to Chezy in 887.

3276. AS. Chr. 880 (881).

3282. A.D. 882, Hariulfus. Dom Bouquet, viij., 273.

He long languished and then died.
 The heathen went forward. 3295
 They found France without protection.
 But most of the French
 Had made Carloman their lord;
 And some would oppose him.
 Of two counsels they took the worse. 3300
 For if they had held together
 They would soon have destroyed the heathen folk.
 Because they made war against the king,
 And the Danes wasted the land,
 France was in evil plight, 3305
 Till the heathen made their entrance
 Into a country towards Brittany;
 Scantland was its name, now it is Le Maine.
 This people and the Bretons
 Fought with the felons. 3310
 There, thanks to God, the King of Glory,
 They had the victory over the Danes.
 There were the heathen destroyed,
 That all their pride and their fame
 Fell together in one day. 3315
 To France they never returned.

MEANWHILE, while the war
 Was such in that land,
 King Ælfred, in his kingdom,
 Defeated his enemies well. 3320
 Oft he fought on the sea,
 And slew many of the Danes.
 And he accomplished and procured
 So much by his goodness

3294. 4 August, 882.

3298. Gaimar follows the AS. Chr. in writing Charles for Carloman.

3308. The Editor of the Mon. Brit. alters Scantland to Scantlaud, and interprets it as St. Lo in the diocese of Coutances. The AS. Chr. 890 (891) reads Sant Laudan, Sand Loðan, and Scantlaudan.

That Marinus sent to him	3325
Some of the cross on which Christ was slain.	
Marinus was then pope of Rome.	
He did him so much honour with good gifts,	
Such relics he sent him,	
That he would never die by arms.	3330
And Æthelswith was his sister,	
She went to Rome with the honour	
With which Ælfred sent her.	
There she died. She could go no further.	
Her body lies at Pavia,	3335
Where she was buried.	
Then it happened, and so much the worse,	
That a wild boar killed Carloman.	
The king died, but one of his brothers	
Died also before their father.	3340
Both were sons of Louis,	
Who had killed Gurmund.	
And Louis was son of Charles,	
Who gave his daughter to the noble	
King Æthelwulf [who] had her for queen.	3345
No lady had better learning.	
Now I have told you this relationship;	
Then a great loss befell Rome,	
Of Marinus, the good pope	
Who first enfranchised the English school.	3350
By the procurement of king Ælfred	
It was free, God be praised.	

3325. AS. Chr. 883 (884).

3331. AS. Chr. 888 (889).

3338. Charles in text and Karl in AS. Chr. 885 (886). He died 6 December 884.

3342. This is a mistake of Gaimar's. It was Louis III., brother of Carloman, not Louis le Bègue, his father, who slew Gurmund. (Hariulfus, *loc. cit.*)

3343. Charles the Bald, whose daughter Judith married Æthelwulf.

3349. AS. Chr. 885 (886).

At this time befel also
 Such adventures as I tell you.
 King Ælfred warred much. 3355
 He went often against the heathen.
 These Danes who took truce
 In the end abused them much.
 And above all those of East Anglia
 Always began the noise. 3360
 They journeyed to London,
 Where heathen were dwelling.
 Danes held the city.
 What then did king Ælfred?
 Everywhere he sent for horsemen, 3365
 And for footmen and archers.
 Thus he sent for his friends,
 And for the English far in the country.
 Far and near he sent for all.
 He gathered a very great force. 3370
 He came to London and besieged it.
 He stayed there till he took it.
 Then he established the city,
 As the thanes had advised.
 To Æthered, one of his thanes, 3375
 He gave the keeping thereof.
 And he guarded it faithfully,
 And defended it from the foreigners.
 This year died the king
 Whom Ælfred had formerly presented at the font. 3380
 The heathen called him Guthorm.
 Then he had Æthelstan for his name.
 His body lies at Thetford.
 There was this dead man buried.

3373. AS. Chr. 886 (887).

3381. AS. Chr. 890 (891).

3384. According to Asser's Annals, he was buried "in villa regia quae vocatur Headleaga apud Orientales Anglos." (Mon. Brit. 482 n.)

THEN was Ælfred much increased in power 3385
 When he had conquered this city.
 And the Danes who lived far off
 Feared him for his prowess.
 All the lands which he held
 At this time were at peace. 3390
 But there went about threatening greatly
 These Danes of Northumberland,
 And those of East Anglia and Mercia
 Gladly gave him trouble.
 But this king so overcame them 3395
 That he then held his kingdoms in peace.
 Then it came to pass, at this time,
 That the heathen host returned
 Which had gone to France.
 They had wasted it all. 3400
 The other host which was separated from this
 Had left them in Le Maine.
 But this host was separated
 Until Gurmund arrived.
 It left him, went on, 3405
 Passed through all France,
 Back it went towards the west,
 Robbing and destroying the people.
 Now they had gathered enough,
 Gold and silver, horses of price. 3410
 At Cherbourg they put to sea;
 At Lympne they landed.
 This is a water on the head of Kent,
 On the east, which men call Orient;
 Andredesweald stretches away. 3415
 This water of Lympne is very deep.
 This wood is reckoned in length
 Forty-two measured leagues.

 3392. AS. Chr. 894.

3411. Bunan (Boulogne) in the AS. Chr. 893 (892).

And thirty leagues in length.
 Lympe runs through it at ease. 3420
 Into this water the Danes came.
 This was in the time of king Ælfred.
 Up the water they towed their ships.
 They went four leagues
 From the mouth of the Lympe. 3425
 All the country along the sea
 These enemies then destroyed.
 Very unlucky was their return.
 They had a hundred and sixty ships
 Their sojourn did much evil. 3430
 On the other side Hæsten returned
 Into Thames on a full flood.
 He did much of his will in Kent.
 At Milton he built a fort.
 He sent for the host which came from France. 3435
 At Appledore was their sojourn.

WHEN these two hosts were assembled
 They went about destroying Christendom.
 Then it happened, as God pleased,
 Ælfred died, who had fought against them. 3440
 DCCCCI. Then from the Nativity,
 From the day that God was born,
 There were nine hundred years and one more
 Till Ælfred died there.
 Death of Ælfred. He reigned full eight and twenty years. 3445
 Few such men are living.
 For wise he was and a good warrior.
 Well he knew to baffle his foes.
 No better clerk there was than he,
 For he had learnt in infancy. 3450
 He caused to be written a book in English
 Of adventures, and of laws;

3429. 250 ships. AS. Chr. 893 (892).

3444 Alfred died 26 October 901. AS. Chr.

And of battles in the land,
 And of kings who made war.
 Many books he had written, 3455
 In which good clerks often read.
 God have mercy on his soul,
 And St. Mary, the sweet lady.

THEN reigned Eadward his son, Eadward.
 The brave, the wise, the noble. 3460
 But still there was much war
 In many places in England,
 For there were many kings.
 Thus the Danes warred,
 And their strength waxed daily 3465
 By those who often came over sea.
 So in the sixth year that Eadward reigned,
 When he could not avoid it,
 He determined to make a truce
 And give peace to the Danes. 3470
 And yet it did not last long:
 The Danes were of very evil nature.
 They warred so hard upon the English
 That king Eadward fought against them.
 With the English he had gathered 3475
 He beat them at Tettenhall.

At this time a king died;
 Æthered, who reigned over the Mercians.
 This Æthered held London.
 King Ælfred had placed him there. 3480
 He had it not as an inheritance.
 When about to die, he did what was wise,
 To king Eadward he gave up his right,
 With all that belonged thereto.
 London he gave up before he was dead, 3485

3470. AS. Chr. 906.

3476. 6 August 910. AS. Chr.

3477. The AS. Chr. calls him "ealdorman on Myrcum." AS. Chr. 912.

And the city of Oxford.
 And the land and the counties
 Which belonged to the cities.
 In this year came a fleet
 Which made great slaughter in the country. 3490
 From the Lidwiccas came this host.
 It spread along the Severn.
 King Eadward went against them.
 Many he killed. Then he returned.
 When he had reigned eighteen years 3495
 He received Mercia in fee.
 Æthelflæd, his sister, inherited it,
 As king Ælfred had commanded.
 As she had no children
 When she died, she made him her heir. 3500
 Three years after king Sihtric,
 Who held the other part of Mercia,
 Fouly slew his brother Niel.
 King Eadward avenged his death.
 He killed Sihtric with a sword. 3505
 Then was he king of the country.
 A year after, by the record,
 Ragnald won York.
 He was a half Danish king.
 By his mother he was English. 3510
 Eadward wished to go against him
 So he gathered a host.
 But then he died; it could no other be.
 He was buried at Winchester.

Death of
 Eadward.

3489. AS. Chr. 915 (918).

3491. Thorpe suggests (AS. Chr., p. 67, n) that Lidwiccas, the word which Gaimar translates Lidwiche, is derived from Llydaw, the British name of Brittany, especially as Florence of Worcester (s.a. 885) translates *butan Lidwicum*, *us absque Armoricanis regno*.

3500. 12 June. AS. Chr. 918.

3501. AS. Chr. 921.

3504. The AS. Chr. 926 does not mention the cause of Sihtric's death.

3508. AS. Chr. 923.

3513. AS. Chr. 925.

THEN reigned his son Æthelstan.	3515	King Æthelstan.
When he had reigned to the fourth year		
He fought a battle against the Danes,		
And defeated king Guthfrith.		
Then he assembled great force		
And put a great fleet to sea.	3520	
Straight to Scotland he went.		
He harried that country sorely.		
A year after, neither less nor more,		
At Brunanburh he had the better		
Of the Scots, the men of Cumberland,	3525	
The Welsh, and the Picts.		
There so many were killed		
I think it will ever be spoken of.		Death of Æthelstan.
Afterwards he only lived three years.		
He had no son or other children.	3530	
His brother they then made king.		King Eadmund.
Eadmund was his name, a good man I trow.		
And the third year that he reigned		
He led his host beyond Humber.		
Two kings there were, cruel Danes.	3535	
One was named King Anlaf (Olaf),		
The other was called Ragnald.		
He drove them out of the kingdom.		
When he had done this he went on.		
A great prey he took in Cumberland.	3540	
He held his land three years more;		
Then God did his will with him.		
Eadred, his brother, reigned.		Death of Eadmund.
He well revenged his brother Eadmund.		King Eadred.
He avenged him on his enemies	3545	

3517. AS. Chr. 927.

3521. AS. Chr. 933.

3524. AS. Chr. 937 (938).

3529. Æthelstan died 27 October. AS. Chr. 940.

3534. AS. Chr. 943.

3542. Eadmund died 26 May. AS. Chr. 946.

Who had slain him by murder.
Then he seized Northumberland,
And the Scotch were subject to him.

WHEN he reigned the second year
Then came Anlaf Cwiran (Olaf Kvaran). 3550

He seized and took Northumberland.
He found no one to defend it.
Three years this Dane held it.
Then the Northumbrians drove him out.
They received Yric, Harald's son. 3555

They promised to hold their fiefs of him.
Two years he reigned in this kingdom.
Then the third year they drove him out.

Death of
Eadred.
King.
Eadwig.

Eadred then received it;
But he died a year after. 3560

Then it befel that in this kingdom
The English made Eadwig their king.
After Eadred, Eadwig was king.
He was the son of Eadmund, an Englishman.

Death of
Eadwig.
King
Eadgar.

His rule went everywhere. 3565
He only lived three years.

Afterwards Eadgar, his brother, reigned.
He held the land as an emperor.
In his time he bettered the land.

He had peace everywhere, there was no war. 3570
He alone ruled over all the kings,
And over the Scotch and the Welsh.

Never since Arthur departed
Had any king such power.
The king much loved Holy Church. 3575

Of wrong and of right, he knew the manner.
Therefore he set himself to do good;
For he was free and courteous.

3550. AS. Chr. 949.

3554. AS. Chr. 952.

3558. AS. Chr. 954.

3562. AS. Chr. 955.

3566. AS. Chr. 958.

He raised good customs.
 All his neighbours were attached to him. 3580
 By fair love and by entreaty
 He bound them all to him.
 Never was anyone found to war with him,
 Nor any who entered his land for ill,
 Except Thored, who rebelled. 3585
 He seized Westmoreland from him.
 For this wrong he received death.
 Woe to him for beginning a wrongful war.
 This king was wise and valiant.
 By his queen he had many fair children. 3590
 One son he had of whom I can tell.
 This was Eadward of Shaftesbury;
 And his daughter was named St. Edith (Eadgith),
 The lady whom God blessed.
 Besides he had three other sons. 3595
 From three mothers they were born.
 Three mothers had these three.
 The king was fond of women.
 When his wife died,
 He ruined his life through women. 3600
 A rich man lived in the kingdom,
 His wife, I know, was dead. Ordgar.
 God had given her one daughter.
 No other child was left to him.
 Ordgar was the name of this rich man. 3605
 From Exeter to Frome

3585. Thored, son of Gunner. AS. Chr. 966.

3592. So called because he was buried there. See William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Regum*, Lib. ii., c. 9.

3601. AS. Chr. 965. This only states the fact of Eadgar's marriage with Ælfthryth. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, Lib. ii., c. 8) gives the story, though not in such detail as Gaimar. Florence of Worcester puts it in 964.

3605. A thighbone, said to be Ordgar's, measuring 21 inches, an unusual length, used to be shown at Tavistock. *Gent. Mag.* lxx. 1081, and *Gent. Mag. Library, Archæology*, p. 160 n.

Was no town nor city
 In which Ordgar had not possessions.
 But he was a marvellous old man.
 What his daughter counselled him, 3610
 What she did or what she commanded to do,
 No man was found who dared dissuade him from.
 Ælfthryth was the name of this maiden.
 None under heaven was so fair, I trow.
 For her beauty through the country, 3615
 Great was her renown.
 And as they talked of her there,
 Those of the court went thither.
 And the courtiers who saw her
 Spoke much of her beauty. 3620
 KING Eadgar had listened
 How men spoke of her beauty.
 Often he had heard her praised;
 Of her beauty he heard so much said
 That he thought, and said in himself 3625
 " Although here I am king,
 " And she is daughter of a thane,
 " I see no difference.
 " Her father was an earl's son,
 " Her mother sprang from noble kings, 3630
 " She is of high birth enough,
 " I can take her without shame."
 Then he called a knight,
 He took him for his counsellor,
 He held him very dear, he had brought him up. 3635
 He opened to him what he thought.
 " Æthelwold, brother," said the king,
 " I will tell you my secret.
 " I love Ælfthryth, the daughter of Ordgar.
 " By all people I have heard her so praised, 3640
 " And her beauty so valued,
 " That I would make her my wife.
 " If she were such, and I knew it,

“ And was assured of her beauty.
“ Therefore, I pray you, go and see her, 3645
“ What you say of her, I will take as true.
“ I trust you well. Do my bidding.
“ Tarry not, but soon return.”

HE went away to make ready.
He did not stop, nor did he tarry, 3650
Till he came to Devonshire,
To the house of lord Ordgar.
On behalf of the king he saluted him.
On all sides was he welcomed.

ORDGAR was playing at chess, 3655
A game which he learnt from the Danes.
With him played Ælþhryth the fair.
Under heaven was no such damsel.
The whole day he stayed there ;
And Æthelwold observed her much. 3660
He looked so often at her face and complexion,
Her body, and hands, the fair flower,
That he deemed well she was a fairy ;
That she was not born of woman.
And when he saw her of such beauty 3665
He was so inflamed by passion
That he thought in his heart,
Whether it turned to gain or loss,
He would say nothing to his lord
Of the truth, this traitor. 3670

So he would say that she was not so fair.
Far [from the truth] he described the noble damsel,
Which came back to him three years after,
For he died all unconfessed.
Thence he returned, went to the king, 3675
To a council which he held.
Earls there were, thanes, and franklins,
Archbishops, bishops, and abbots.
Listen what this deceiver did.
He came to the king after dinner; 3680

Well was he greeted and welcomed ;
 But he before had spoken
 To those who were well with the king,
 And who knew this secret.
 He begged them to help him, 3685
 And that they would ask for him the daughter of
 Ordgar.

And well he made them all believe
 That she was misshapen, ugly, and dark.
 Before the king he kneeled,
 Privily he showed him : 3690
 " King, of the lady to whom I went,
 " I will tell you the truth.
 " Whoever has lied, I will speak truth.
 " You ought not to have such a wife,
 " An appearance and a look she has 3695
 " Which ill become her.
 " Other faults I saw enough,
 " Where I marked no beauties.
 " To a man of my rank
 " It would not be great damage 3700
 " If he took her and kept her honour,
 " And did her father much honour."
 On all sides they said to the king—
 " What he says has been said to me.
 " It is not well that you should take her, 3705
 " Give her to a bachelor."

THE king was merry, he had drunk too much.
 Lightly they deceived him.
 To Æthelwold he began to speak ;
 He trusted quite that he had told him the truth. 3710
 " Friend," said he, " I believe you quite,
 " As she is such that I ought not to have her
 " I give her you with all the honour.

3701. I take *honour* here to mean Ælfthryth's inheritance. See iv. 3713, 3926.

" Make her father thy lord,
 " Care for him well, as a father-in-law. 3715
 " Marry her, then come back to me."

The king was holding a wand,
 He held it out to him and made the grant,
 And he swore fealty to him.
 In this place he perjured himself. 3720

A man who betrays has no law,
 Nor should any one trust in his faith.
 This traitor turned from the king;
 Like a felon he had duped him.

He came to Ordgar, he betrayed him, 3725
 Took his daughter, seized the honour.

In this country he tarried so long,
 That the lady was pregnant with a son.
 But the fair lady, if she could
 Would never have been pregnant by Æthelwold. 3730

She did not love him. It had been told her
 How the king had been deceived,
 He himself, all indiscreetly,
 Had discovered this to Ælfthryth.

At the right time the infant was born. 3735
 Hear what this faithless man did,
 Because he still feared

The king, who was very gay.
 He came to him and begged him
 To hold this child at the font. 3740

When he had done this she was his sister,
 Then he had no fear of the king.

THE king was free and gentle.
 He did not see through this,
 Of the wicked felon he did not beware, 3745
 He had nourished him, therefore he loved him.
 Till it happened at a supper,
 The king heard the woman spoken of,
 On every side they praised her much,

These knights who spoke of her, 3750
 And said in their tale
 That in the whole world there was none so fair,
 And if she had still been a maid,
 She was well worthy to be queen.
 Then they spoke of her wit, 3755
 And that which she understood;
 That she was both fair and wise,
 And of free courage in speaking;
 That never any man envy,
 Nor mockery, nor villany, 3760
 Could find at all in her;
 She was wise to restrain herself.
 The king marvelled exceedingly.
 He heard this oftentimes said,
 He said to himself in his heart 3765
 "This Æthelwold has fooled me, I trow."
 For Ælfthryth he was very pensive,
 Henceforth he would go from bad to worse.

KING Eadgar determined
 That he would go to Devonshire. 3770
 To hunt stags he said that he would go,
 But he intended quite otherwise in his heart.
 He was not far from that country.
 Many a man makes a longer day's journey.
 Ælfthryth was at a manor, 3775
 Where the king arrived the evening of the next day.
 It was near the wood where he would hunt.
 At night he went there to lodge,
 And when it was time that he should sup,
 Still shone clear the sun. 3780
 Then he asked for his *commère*,

3781. There is no English word to express the affinity between the parent and the godfather or godmother of the child.

Where she was, where her father was.
 Æthelwold said, "In this upper room,
 "You have fasted too long, king, come and eat."
 The king heard, he perceived 3785
 That if Æthelwold could, he should not see her.
 Then he took a knight by the hand,
 And went into the upper room.
 Ladies, maids, many he found there,
 To none of them he spoke. 3790
 He knew Ælfthryth by her beauty,
 And she welcomed the king.
 She was veiled in a wimple.
 The king drew it from her head.
 Then he smiled and looked at her, 3795
 And then kissed his *commère*.
 From this kiss sprang love.
 Ælfthryth was the flower of the others.
 The king in play and jest
 Raised the fold of her mantle. 3800
 Then he saw her figure so slender.
 For a little he was amazed
 By the beauty he saw there.
 To the hall he led her;
 Together they sat at meat. 3805
 They drank healths at the removes.
 And the custom was such
 That great was his worth who drank well.
 With cups of gold, with mazers,
 With oxhorns full of wine, 3810
 Was the wassail and the drinkhail,
 Till Eadgar fell asleep.
 And when the lady drank with him
 He kissed her, as was the custom.
 She kissed him innocently. 3815
 But the king was inflamed.
 If he had not her love in another way,

He would take a further device ;
 The further device he took
 Of one who takes a woman from her parent. 3820
 THAT night the king lay in peace.
 Such a woman he never saw before.
 In his heart he thinks if he does not have her,
 Then he will die, never will he be healed.
 Then he seeks a plan, and an evil thought, 3825
 That he could often speak with her.
 On his love he is bent.
 Now he seeks a plan, as he had decided.
 In that country he hunted in the woods.
 He sent her some of the stags he took, 3830
 Other presents he made her in plenty.
 Three times he went to her.
 When he departed from the country,
 He left her inflamed.
 She had heard and understood well 3835
 That the king meant to take her.
 He stayed only eight days.
 At Salisbury was the court.
 Many great thanes met there.
 Many thanes of high rank came 3840
 To protect the land.
 The king had summoned them.
 With the others came Æthelwold.
 The king did what he would with him.
 He sent him to York. 3845
 He entrusted to him the northern land.
 He should rule all beyond Humber,
 And they should do his commands.
 Hastily and without delay,
 He went to set the land in order. 3850
 He received such writs as he would.
 Then Dan Æthelwold departed.
 In this journey that he took

I know not what folk he met.
 Outlaws they were and enemies. 3855
 Then and there was this felon killed.
 Some said that this company
 Was sent against him by king Eadgar,
 But none knew, who dared say,
 That they were so, who went to kill him. 3860
 To the king came the news.
 He could not then take vengeance,
 For he found none to tell him
 Who had done this, or who had killed him.
 Then he sent to seize his fief. 3865
 He caused Ælfthryth to come to court.
 She must come to court speedily.
 The king would tell her his will.
 She only tarried a month.
 At Gloucester was the king ; 3870
 With him were the kings of Wales.
 Many knights he had in the halls.
 Then came Ælfthryth and her company,
 Who were richly attired.
 All the thanes of Somerset, 3875
 Of Devonshire and of Dorset,
 And the earls of Cornwall,
 Came with her to the gathering.
 For this they did it, that it was their right.
 Each of them held a great fief of her. 3880
 They were tenants of her father's fief.
 Of her kin she brought many.
 What shall I say of her attire?
 She had a ring on her finger
 Which was worth more alone 3885
 Than all her dress.
 She wore a cape of black silk

3856. William of Malmesbury says that Eadgar killed Æthelwold with his own hand.

Which trailed along the hall.
 Over this she wore a mantle,
 Within, grey fur, without, blue. 3890
 Of other such stuff was her robe.
 She was very fair. For this, what matters it?
 Ho, says Gaimar, I will not go about to speak
 Of her beauty, for delay.
 If I said all the truth 3895
 From morn one day till evening
 I should not have said nor related
 The third part of her beauty.

THE king rose, went to meet her,
 Took her by the hand. When he held it 3900
 He was very joyful; he led her
 And lodged her in a chamber.
 He would not lodge her far off.
 Under heaven there was nothing he held so dear.
 The next day he made prepare 3905
 His household clerks in a minster
 Very early in the morning.
 Now he meant to bring the matter to an end.
 He had Ælfthryth the fair brought there.
 He married her in the chapel. 3910
 Then he sent for his thanes,
 And summoned them by lawful ban.
 None there were who dared disregard it,
 And not be that day at his table.
 For the joy that he meant to have 3915
 The king had himself richly clothed.
 He put on his royal raiment.
 He loved Ælfthryth much and was glad.
 For likewise he had her clothed,
 And crowned and well served. 3920
 The king wore a crown of gold.

3893. *Rois* is probably from the verb *roer* = *rotare*. (Burguy III., 323.)

He held a feast and gave great gifts.
 Two bishoprics, and three abbeys,
 Religious orders and lordships
 He founded that day. 3925
 To several disinherited men he restored their honours.
 To all the folk he so behaved
 That none hated him, all loved him.
 Thus he held feast in his halls.
 Much he honoured the kings of Wales. 3930
 They bore the three swords,
 As clerks erst had ordered,
 And had found writings,
 Thus they agreed.
 I cannot tell all the circumstances, 3935
 Nor the splendour of the feast.
 But so much I tell you, as tells the story.
 Splendour there was and great bravery.

It was not more than a month after this
 That king Eadgar was in London. 3940
 In his bed he lay, he and the Queen.
 Around them was a curtain
 Delicately wrought of crimson cloth.
 Behold archbishop Dunstan
 Very early came into the room. 3945
 Against the bedpost inlaid with vermilion,
 The archbishop leaned.
 To the king he spoke in English.
 He asked who that was
 Who lay with him in his bed. 3950
 The king answered, "It is the queen
 " Ælfthryth, to whom this kingdom is attached."
 Said the archbishop, "That is false.
 " Better it were that you were dead

Saint
Dunstan.

3940. This incident does not appear in any of the Lives of Dunstan edited by the bishop of Chester in the Rolls Series.

3946. *Lambre* may be the French for *lamina*.

" Than to lie thus in adultery, 3955
 " Your souls will go to torment."
 When the queen heard this
 She was wroth with the archbishop.
 She became so sore his enemy
 That she never loved him more in her life. 3960
 He cared not, he would not
 That man did wrong and left the right.
 Oftentimes he warned them,
 And entreated them to separate.
 His preaching was no good ; 3965
 He loved her. She held him dear.
 He afterwards had a son by her.
 He called him Æthelred,
 On account of his ancestor, a great king,
 Who was named Æthelred. 3970
 But thus it befel when he was born
 St. Swithun died.
 And when the child was six years old
 Then died the valiant Eadgar.
 EADWARD, his son, reigned after him. 3975
 This was a king whom God loved.
 But in his time, on account of his youth,
 Foreign folk gave him trouble,
 Whom his father had brought
 Into his kingdom. He had done wrong. 3980
 And his stepmother, who was living,
 Who had the strength of the kingdom,
 For the advancement of her line,
 Had a great outrage committed on the king ;

Death of
 Eadgar.

3968. Florence of Worcester (*s.a.* 964) says that they had two sons, Eadmund and Æthelred.

3972. St. Swithun died in 861, according to the AS. Chr. Gaimar has apparently mistaken the removal of his body from the churchyard to the interior of the Cathedral at Winchester, for his burial. This was in 970, according to Florence of Worcester. The AS. Chr. does not mention this translation.

3974. Eadgar died 8 July 975. (AS. Chr.)

And for her son who was growing up, 3985
 Whom she wished to make king.
 King Eadward reigned two years.
 Now I will tell you how he died.
 He was one day merry and gay.
 In Wiltshire he had dined. 3990
 He had a dwarf named Wolstanet
 Who could dance and play.
 He could leap and pipe,
 And play many other tricks.
 The king saw him, called him, 3995
 And ordered him to play.
 The dwarf said he would not,
 He would not play at his order.
 And when the king asked him more gently,
 And he railed against the king, 4000
 The king grew very wroth with him.
 Wolstanet then fled;
 He took his horse, he found him ready,
 He went to Ælfthryth's house,
 It was only one league off. 4005
 This was very near Somerset.
 There was a thick and great wood.
 The dwarf went thither, pricking hard.
 The king mounted, and followed him
 On a horse which he found ready. 4010
 He never stopped galloping.
 He wished to see the dwarf play.
 To the house of Ælfthryth he turned.
 He asked who had seen his dwarf.
 He found few people in the house; 4015
 None said to him either yea or nay,
 Except the Queen, who came forth
 From her chamber, and replied
 " Sir, he has never come here,

3987. *Dusze* is perhaps a mistake for *deux*, as Eadward reigned less than three years, dying on 18 March 978. AS. Chr. 978 (979)

" Stay with us, good king, dismount. 4020
 " If it please you, king, rest yourself,
 " I will call your folk to come to me.
 " I will send to seek Wolstanet.
 " I think verily I shall find him."
 The king replied, "Thanks to you, 4025
 " I cannot dismount here."
 " Sir," said she " then drink
 " All on horseback, if you love me."
 " Gladly," replied the king
 " But first you must drink to me." 4030
 The butler filled a horn
 Of good clear wine, then handed it to her.
 She drank the half of the full horn.
 She put it in king Eadward's hand.
 On giving her the horn, he should have kissed her. 4035
 Then came some foe, I know not who,
 With a great knife, ground sharp.
 To the heart he smote the king with it.
 The king fell down, uttered a cry,
 The horse started, 4040
 Thus bleeding, as he was,
 With saddle, with bridle, as God would,
 And Saint Eadward, towards Cirencester.
 There is the saddle; there it should be.
 And the holy body of this martyr 4045
 The Queen caused to be buried far off.
 To a moor it was carried
 Where no man had come.
 There was the king covered with reeds.
 But he rested not long there. 4050
 The king's company came following,
 Seeking him at Ælfthryth's house.
 She hid from them, because it was said
 That the queen had murdered him.

4043. Richard of Devizes says the horse stopped at Shaftesbury, and the saddle was there.

That night, as he lay in the moor, 4055
 A light from Heaven shone.
 Clear was the ray, no wonder,
 It was much like the sun.
 On the holy body this ray came,
 And the other end was in Heaven. 4060
 Many sought what this could be.
 Then a wise priest saw it.
 He was parson of Donhead,
 He told them the truth straightway:
 " Now seek and go, 4065
 " You will find a holy martyr."
 The Holy Spirit had revealed this to him
 By a voice which he heard.
 Early in the morning in the country,
 Through many places the report went 4070
 That all should go thither,
 Where king Eadward was murdered.
 All the lame who came thither,
 And the blind and the deaf, were made whole.
 To Shaftesbury was he carried. 4075
 There is he cherished and honoured.

Now Ælfthryth made Æthelred king
 (The boy was only sixteen years old) King
 By the power of her kin. Æthelred.
 Before the altar of St. Vincent 4080
 At Winchester they made him king.
 St. Dunstan died, I trow,
 The archbishop of Canterbury.
 He absolved Ælfthryth from the great wrath.
 As he was dying, he pardoned her, 4085
 And enjoined her penance.

4064. H. reads *en eire*. *Eire* is not a rare form of *erre*=way. *En vaire* probably means "in truth."

4078. AS. Chr. 979 states that he was hallowed king at Kingston.

4082. AS. Chr. 988.

At Wherwell she did penance ;
 She served God well, and died there.
 There is the body, so says the story.
 The nuns do in her memory, 4090
 Masses, matins, and services,
 And prayers in many ways.
 Now may God do his pleasure with her,
 He has power to save her.

DURING the time that Æthelred reigned 4095
 Dunstan departed, as God would,
 And after him Æthelgar was archbishop.
 To serve God he mortified his body.
 Then Sigeric was archbishop.
 When he departed Ælfrie was [archbishop]. 4100
 Ælfrie they received and elected,
 With great honour they placed him in the throne.
 These were the archbishops in this place
 When Æthelred was king.
 He had an elder brother, 4105
 Who was called Eadmund.
 He claimed the land,
 He desired to take it from him.
 The Welsh were his friends,
 For his wife was of their country. 4110
 She was daughter of a king of the land.
 With him they kept up the war.
 On the other side, the kinsfolk
 From whom king Eadward was born,
 On the side of his mother, hated him, 4115

4087. William of Malmesbury speaks of her penitence at Wherwell.
 Lib. ii., c. 9.

4097. AS. Chr. 988.

4099. AS. Chr. 990.

4100. AS. Chr. 995.

4106. Eadmund Ætheling's death is mentioned in the AS. Chr. as
 occurring in 972 (970), and it is not clear to what this passage in
 Gaimar refers.

And waged great war against him.
 And the Scotch, and the Picts,
 The Welsh, and the Cumbrians,
 Would not deign to hold of him,
 And had no care to serve him. 4120

WHEN the king saw that it fared so ill,
 He held a meeting of his friends.
 He asked advice, need was great.
 They were taking away all his kingdom.
 Then these men advised 4125
 That he should cross the sea straightway,
 Ask for Emma, Richard's sister,
 And bring her thence.
 If the Normans are his friends,
 He could easily subdue his enemies. 4130
 Earl Richard would support him.
 He would subdue all his neighbours.
 He quite believed in their advice.
 He neither tarried nor rested
 Till he had married Emma. 4135
 Earl Richard gave her to him,
 To England he led her.
 He gave her Winchester in dower,
 Rockingham, and Rutland,
 Which Ælfthryth had had before. 4140
 All he gave her, dear he held her.
 At this time king Swegen (Svein) came
 To claim and to conquer.
 Those of the country received him.
 Earl Uhtred of Lindsey 4145
 Submitted to him and his fleet,

4129. The AS. Chr. (1002) mentions Æthelred's marriage with Emma, but not his journey to Normandy.

4142. According to the AS. Chr. Swegen first came to England in 994. He took Wilton in 1003, Norwich in 1004, and received the submission of Earl Uhtred and the Northumbrians, and the people of Lindsey in 1013.

And those beyond Humber also.
 Thus did after all the folk
 Who then were in England.
 He found little war at any time ; 4150
 All he seized and all he took,
 Never any man withstood him,
 For Æthelred had no aid.
 So he fled to Normandy,
 He and his wife and his two sons. 4155
 Richard received them well.

WHEN King Swegen had conquered all
 And saw that the country was his,
 He went to Gainsborough,
 And for a while tarried there. 4160
 While tarrying there he departed.
 At York was he buried :
 But then after ten years or more
 The Danes took up his bones ;
 They were carried to Norway, 4165
 To Saint Olaf, there were they laid.
 In St. Peter's Minster he lay
 When the Danes took him away.

King Cnut. And Cnut remained, who was Swegen's son,
 Well and at ease for a whole year. 4170
 Then came a great host and a great fleet
 With Æthelred from Normandy ;
 And the English and the Danes
 Received him, and made him king.
 Cnut when he heard it, departed. 4175
 Straightway he crossed the sea.
 He assembled an host from many lands,
 He cared not for peace, much he loved war.

4154. AS. Chr. 1013.

4159. Swegen's death, owing to a vision of St. Edmund, is mentioned by Florence of Worcester, *Anno* 1014, and his burial at York by Simeon of Durham (*Hist. Regum* II., 146, Rolls Ed.).

4172. AS. Chr. 1014.

KING Æthelred into Lindsey
 Went recovering his dominion. 4180
 He took preys, ravaged the land,
 And waged right cruel war.
 And Cnut returned with his fleet.
 He meant to land in Lindsey.
 When he heard that Æthelred was there, 4185
 He sailed straight for the Thames.
 He entered the mouth of the Frome:
 All that country he turned to himself.
 From all sides came the English;
 They took Cnut for King. 4190
 King Æthelred came to London.
 He fortified it well, he held himself there.
 He had not wherewithal to fight
 Against Cnut, therefore he shunned him.
 There he said he would defend himself. 4195
 Then came Cnut and besieged him.
 So long he stayed and waited
 That King Æthelred died.
 At St. Paul's there he lies.
 He gave his treasure to the bishopric. 4200
 King Æthelred had a son.
 The other two were children.
 To Normandy they were carried,
 For there were their kinsfolk.
 Earl Richard was their uncle, 4205
 Who taught them and brought them up,
 And the queen was at Winchester.
 A fairer woman there could not be.
 And Cnut reigned, he had conquered
 On many sides the whole country. 4210
 But Eadmund the ætheling vexed him.
 As much as he could he fought,

4187. AS. Chr. 1015.

4198. 23 April. AS, Chr. 1016.

He and his uncle, the other Eadmund,
 Made a great war on Cnut.
 Ill befel the other Eadmund. 4215
 Disease took him and held him so long
 That he came to his end, and died.
 He was buried at Hereford.
 But this Eadmund gathered men,
 And fought manfully. 4220
 With him the Welsh held.
 He took [to wife] the sister of one of their kings.
 And all those beyond Severn,
 From Lancaster to Malvern,
 Followed his call and his command. 4225
 And he went on fighting often with Cnut
 Until all the Danes were gathered.
 With their host they came against him.
 Earl Thorkytel led that host.
 The king's son went against him. 4230
 Then they came to Sherstone,
 The morrow of St. John,
 Where they fought a hard battle.
 When some of the English failed
 Their lords who had brought them there. 4235
 They went over to the Danes
 By treason and felony.
 Many a noble man there lost his life.
 Eadric Streona deserted,
 And many others whom he had brought up, 4240

4215. It is not clear whom Gaimar means by this Eadmund.

4222. Eadmund Ironside married in 1015, according to the *AS. Chr.* Ealdgyth, the widow of Sigferth, a thune of the Seven Burghs, *i.e.*, York, Chester, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby, the chief towns occupied by the Danes. Sigferth was murdered by Eadric.

4231. *AS. Chr.* 1016. There is still an image on Sherstone Church which the people say is Old Rattlebones, one of the Danish Chiefs killed at this battle. It appears, however, to be the effigy of a man in civil dress, holding in his hand the model of some building, perhaps the church.

King Eadward, son of Æthelred.
 And the Danes triumphed.
 To Assandun (Assingdon) repairing
 King Cnut led his host.
 And Eadmund fought with him, 4245
 With few folk, but no man, I trow,
 Struck better than he struck.
 Whether he would or not he left the field.
 By force the Welsh dragged him away.
 The Danes had the victory. 4250
 Thus lasted for several days,
 Between them two, war and strife,
 Till the land was desolate
 By their pride and their war.
 The lords then consulted, 4255
 They talked together till they agreed.

At Deerhurst they met ;
 There it was agreed between them.
 They pledged themselves to a battle.
 By their two bodies it was granted. 4260
 It was discussed and devised
 How each should be armed.
 Hawberk and helm, shield and axe,
 Dagger, sword and good mace,
 Steel leg harness, each should have, 4265
 When he came to battle.
 Afterwards they said where this should be.
 It was agreed to be at Gloucester.
 Into mid Severn, in a ship
 They brought them, fair and soft. 4270
 And the ship should be well moored,
 Chained and fast bound
 On both sides, that it might be firm
 Right in the middle of the water.
 This was the true device between them, 4275
 Thus they arranged the battle ;
 And their two hosts should be on either side.

And they swore on both sides with solemnity,
 And gave hostages and sureties.
 So they agreed together, 4280
 And the battle should be fought ;
 Whichever of the two conquered,
 All should join him,
 And permit him to reign over them.

At the day all were assembled. 4285
 The two kings were brought into the ship ;
 And on both sides, on the bank,
 Were the two armies, to watch.
 All the ships of the city
 Were brought down the river. 4290
 Six leagues off they took them,
 As the lords ordered.

They did not wish that any ruffian
 Should begin any strife there.
 But by them two it should be tried, 4295
 Which God chose to have the kingdom.
 At one end of the ship was Cnut,
 Who was sprung from Danes.
 At the other end was Eadmund,
 Who belonged to the English. 4300
 They bowed in prayer ;
 They kneeled a long time.
 Then they stood up.
 Each girded on his arms.

When they were ready 4305
 Each looked at the other.
 Then spoke Cnut, very wisely,
 And said, " Eadmund, stay a while,
 " I am a Dane, and thou an Englishman,
 " Our fathers both were kings, 4310
 " One held the land, and the other had it.

4305. Henry of Huntingdon says they began to fight. Hist. Angl.
 Lib. vi., cap. 13.

- " Each did with it what he pleased.
 " As long as they had it in their power,
 " Each did his will with it.
 " And know well, that long ago 4315
 " The Danes had it, my forefathers.
 " Nearly a thousand years ago Dane had it,
 " Before ever king Cerdic came there.
 " Cerdic, he was your forefather,
 " And king Dane was mine. 4320
 " Dane held it in chief from God.
 " Modret gave Cerdic his fief,
 " He never held it in chief.
 " From him came your kin.
 " Therefore I tell you, if you know it not, 4325
 " If you fight with me,
 " One of us has the greater wrong.
 " We do not know which will die.
 " Therefore I will make you an offer,
 " And will not go back from it. 4330
 " Let us divide the land right in two,
 " You take one part,
 " The other shall be left to me.
 " Let neither you nor me complain.
 " Then we will conquer that part, 4335
 " Of which neither I nor you hold any.
 " As we conquer it
 " Let us divide it between us,
 " And let us be brothers in truth.
 " I will swear to you, you swear to me, 4340
 " To keep this brotherhood,
 " As if we were born of one mother,
 " As if we were both brothers,
 " Of one father and one mother ;
 " Also let there be hostages between us ; 4345
 " Trust me, and I will trust you."
 Eadmund stood on the other side.
 In boldness he was like a leopard.

He heard the modesty and the justice
With which good king Cnut spoke. 4350

He gave him answer most wisely.

“ Will you carry out this talk ? ”

“ Yes,” said Cnut, “ in truth,

“ Let there be a pledge between us.

“ Here I pledge you my faith, 4355 .

“ I will keep this covenant thus.”

This covenant was pledged.

Behold all settled.

On this covenant they embraced.

These covenants were well kept. 4360

On both sides all the lords

Praised God, those who were wise.

And the two kings called for boats.

Two little boats brought

Two fishermen, who lived there, 4365

They were hidden in a ditch.

THE two kings came to their folk ;

The next day the treaty was made,

For the land was divided

By the advice of the lords. 4370

As the water of Thames runs,

They planned a just division,

And from the spot where it rises,

As far as the Foss. Thence it runs back,

And goes quite straight as far as the road 4375

Which king Belin made,

Watling street. There straight,

All the west was divided.

WHEN the lords had done this

Neither of the two kings drew back. 4380

4374. The Foss, according to Henry of Huntingdon, and the description of Britain appended to Gaimar, runs from Totness to Caithness. It passed through Ilchester, Bath, Cirencester, and Lincoln. Watling Street ran from Dover to Chester.

They made equal lots by right
 That there might never be contention.
 On the south Eadmund's share fell.
 There was his uncle Saint Eadward.
 And on the other side of Thames 4385
 King Cnut held right justice.
 He had London, there was his seat.
 York was in his kingdom.
 And Eadmund had Canterbury,
 And also Winchester and Salisbury, 4390
 And Gloucester and Dorchester,
 And Cirencester and Exeter.
 What shall I say of the two kingdoms?
 Each was richly possessed.
 Now they reigned more equally, 4395
 Than brothers or kinsfolk do.
 And more they loved each other, I trow,
 Than brothers do, these two.

WHEN a traitor envied them,
 Then this felon wrought his felony. 4400
 He invited Eadmund, and came to ask him,
 To come and tarry with him,
 He was his man. So much he prayed him
 That King Eadmund tarried there.
 Provision there was in great plenty, 4405
 But it was dearly bought:
 He who gave it, spoiled it all,
 For like a felon he murdered the king.
 Eadric caused an engine to be made,
 The bow which would not miss, he knew how to
 draw. 4410

4381. *Caules* is some sort of rent (Godefroy). It may be that *ecaules* is a form of *égal*.

4383. The AS, Chr. simply says that Cnut took Mercia and Eadmund Wessex.

4410. Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. vi.) says that Eadric's son stabbed the king at Oxford. Florence of Worcester says he died at London,

If anything touched the string,
 Soon would one hear bad news.
 Even a bason (?), if it struck it,
 It would split it with the arrow.
 Where this bow was prepared 4415
 He had placed a new house.
 Privy house they called it,
 Men went there for that purpose.
 The king was taken there at night,
 As Eadric had commanded. 4420
 Directly he sat on the seat
 The arrow struck him in the fundament.
 It went up as far as the lungs.
 The feather never showed
 Of the arrow which was in his body, 4425
 And no blood came forth.
 The king cried a death cry,
 The soul fled from him, he was no more.
 There was no recovery.
 His folk carried him thence, 4430
 To a minster was he carried.
 Much they read and sang,
 And said matins and service.
 May God, if it please him, do justice
 On the evil felon, the traitor, 4435
 Who thus murdered his lord.
 The king was honourably buried,
 Interred and prayed for.
 But his Queen did not know it.
 She had two fair boys by him, 4440

which city is mentioned by the AS. Chr. the line before, and has no doubt got into Florence's text through carelessness. The AS. Chr. states that his death was on St. Andrew's Day (30 November) 1016.
 4414. Stevenson translates *cwet* or *ouct* bason. The word does not occur in any dictionary I have consulted.
 4431. Glastonbury.
 4440. Eadmund and Eadward.

And before ever she knew it,
 Or any man could tell her,
 The two boys were taken from her.
 To Cnut they were brought direct.
 This did Eadric, the traitor. 4445
 Thus he thought to increase his honour.

To London went this wicked felon.
 King Cnut was there and many a thane.
 Before the king he kneeled ;
 In his ear he told him 4450
 How he had wrought with Eadmund,
 And of the children whom he had brought.
 When the king had heard it all,
 He was very sad and wroth.
 He sent for all his thanes ; 4455
 He had the treason told them.
 When he had proved it in their hearing,
 He had him (Eadric) taken, then he was led
 To an ancient tower, situated so that
 When the tide rises, Thames beats it. 4460
 The king himself came after ;
 He sent for all the citizens.
 He had an axe brought,
 I know not if it had his equal under heaven.
 In the forelock of the traitor 4465
 He caused a rod to be twisted round.
 When the forelock was firmly held
 King Cnut came straightway.
 He gave him a quick stroke,
 From the body he severed the head. 4470
 He had the body thrown down,
 The tide came up outside.

4460. The AS. Chr. and Florence put Eadric's death in the next year, 1017, instead of immediately following his murder of Eadmund. Florence indeed gives the indiction of the year in which Edmund was killed as XV., which suits 1017, though he puts the death among the events of the year 1016.

He made them throw out the felon's head;
 Both went towards the deep sea.
 The living devil take them. 4475
 Thus ended Eadric Streona.
 And the king said to his household,
 So that many heard it,
 " This man slew my brother.
 " In him I have avenged all my friends: 4480
 " He was indeed my brother in truth,
 " I will never put another instead of him.
 " As this has happened so
 " May Beelzebub have the body of Eadric."
 The king went down thence, 4485
 And mounted a horse.
 He went to speak with the Queen,
 To seek counsel and ask
 For the two lads, the sons of Eadmund.
 Said the Queen. " Where are they? " 4490
 Answered the king, " At Westminster,
 " To the abbot I delivered them yesterday."

 " SIR," said she, " believe me
 " You must take other steps.
 " These are the right heirs of the land, 4495
 " If they live, they will make war.
 " While you can have peace
 " If you take my advice. Cause it to be known
 " That they are taken to another land ;
 " Beware of their doing harm. 4500
 " Trust them to such a man
 " That they may be kept from evil."
 Then they called for a Dane,
 A noble man, a distant Marcher,
 A city he had and a great earldom, 4505
 He was called Walgar.
 They entrusted the two lads to him,
 Who were king's sons, and noble.

He received them, to nourish them well,
 To bring them up and keep them. 4510
 He thought indeed that if he lived,
 He would bring them up in great honour.
 What shall I say? He departed,
 And went to Denmark.
 With the children he went. 4515
 One was called Eadgar,
 The other's name was Æthelred.
 This was the younger lad.
 Well were they kept and well nourished.
 When they were somewhat grown, 4520
 And had passed twelve years,
 They were very noble and pleasing.
 To England came the news
 That their right heirs were grown up.
 Greatly the English rejoiced, 4525
 For they did not love the Danes.
 They made ready ships,
 And would send thither.
 When this was told to the Queen,
 Whose name was Emeline (Ælfifu Emma), 4530
 King Æthelred had first married her.
 Now king Cnut had her;
 She had two sons by Æthelred,
 Eadward was one, the other Ælfred.
 Earl Richard of Normandy 4535
 Had his nephews in keeping.
 They were again the right heirs.
 They would have England.
 Queen Emma was their mother,
 Whom king Cnut had after their father. 4540

4516. Eadmund and Eadward, according to Florence of Worcester (*s.a.* 1017). The latter died on his return to England in 1057, having married a lady named Agatha, niece of the Emperor Henry II., by whom he was father of Eadgar Ætheling, Margaret, wife of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Christina, a nun at Romsey.

For her two sons, whom she loved much,
 The two lads troubled her.
 And also for her lord's sake,
 She wished them much ill.
 And when she heard that the English 4545
 Had a desire to make them kings,
 She devised an evil plan.
 To her lord she went, with bent head.
 "Sire," said she, "You know not
 "The sons of Eadmund will be sent for: 4550
 "The English say they are the right heirs;
 "They wish to receive them instead of you."
 Cnut replied, "Can this be so?"
 "Yes, dear lord, at Porchester
 "Is a ship prepared 4555
 "Which will bring them with a great company."
 The king sent straightway,
 They found the ship ready.
 They took harness and rigging,
 They put the men in prison. 4560
 They came back to tell the tidings to the king.
 When he heard all, he was full of wrath.

THEN he had his writs sealed,
 And sent beyond sea
 To his two sons, who were there 4565
 And held Denmark.
 He bade them, and his barons
 To take the lads,
 And maim them secretly,
 So they could never be cured. 4570
 There was one to hear this counsel,
 Who, if he could, would turn it another way.

4542. *i.e.* Eadmund and Eadward.

4570. Florence says Cnut sent them to the king of Sweden to be killed.
 (*s.a.* 1017.)

Hastily then he ordered
 Walgar who had charge of the children,
 If he held them dear at all, 4575
 He should send them away ;
 For if they were found there
 They would surely be mained.
 The good man did not delay.
 He left his land to his three sons. 4580
 With only three ships he put to sea.
 He so well accomplished his journey
 That in only five days he passed Russia,
 And came to the land of Hungary.
 The sixth day he arrived 4585
 Beneath the city of Gardimbre.
 The king was there and the queen,
 To whom Hungary was subject.
 Walgar was acquainted with them.
 He adorned the two children. 4590
 He came to the king and greeted him.
 The king rose up to meet him.
 He embraced Walgar, set him beside him,
 And made cheer and joy with him.
 He knew well about the two lads, 4595
 How he had cared for them,
 And that they were right heirs of England.
 But he knew not what he wished to ask
 Until the master spoke.
 The king asked, so he showed him 4600
 Of the two lads, how it was
 That men wished to destroy them.
 Then he told him how they had fled,
 And how they came to ask his pity.
 And if he would give them counsel, 4605

 4583. Florence, 1017.

 4587. Florence calls this king Salomon. Stephen I. was reigning from
 A.D. 1000 to 1038. There was a king Salomon in 1063.

That they might recover their land.
 "Sir," said he, "they will hold it of you,
 "And they will become thy men."
 The king replied, "They are welcome.
 "All my power and my strength 4610
 "I will put forth to help them.
 "I will exert myself to raise them.
 "To my power I will make war
 "On those who have taken their land."
 Walgar replied:—"Thanks to you. 4615
 "Upon your faith, I entrust them to you.
 "As you have trust in God
 "I entreat you, keep them well."
 The children remained there;
 Three years after they were grown up. 4620
 The younger was fifteen years old.
 But the eldest was the taller.
 He had passed nineteen years.
 Eadgar was his name. He was well favoured.
 The king's daughter took him for her lover. 4625
 And he loved her; this was known;
 Before a whole year had passed,
 The lady became pregnant.
 What shall I say? It went so far
 That the matter could not be concealed. 4630
 The king heard it, it was told him.
 He was but little wroth.
 He even said he would agree to it.
 If he would take her, he would give her to him.
 The youth agreed; 4635
 He kissed the king's foot.
 And the king summoned his folk.
 The next day was the meeting;

4624. It was Eadward the younger who was father of Margaret and
 Eadgar Ætheling. See note, p. 143.

The king gave his daughter to Eadgar.
 Before his people, he married her, 4640
 And the king gave all to know
 That Eadgar should be his heir after his days.
 As he had no son, he made him his heir,
 Because of his eldest daughter whom he took.
 Therefore have I told you, I would have you know,
 Marvel not at it. [4645
 From this Eadgar and his wife
 Issued the precious gem,
 Margaret they called her.
 King Malcolm made her his queen. 4650
 She had an elder brother,
 Eadgar the Ætheling was he named.
 The English sent for the children,
 For their father was no longer alive.
 The two children were the right heirs, 4655
 [To him] who would acknowledge them as true.
 When they should have landed in Humber
 A storm fell on the sea,
 Which drove them into Scotland.
 King Malcolm seized them; 4660
 He made Margaret his queen.
 She was devoted to God.
 Six sons, I trow, the king had by her.
 Now will I tell you the first three,
 Donald, Duncan, Eadmund; 4665
 The other three, I think they were kings,
 Eadgar, Alexander, and David.
 This lineage sprang from Eadmund,

4660. It was in 1067 she went to Scotland with her mother, brother, and sister, and married Malcolm. AS. Chr. 1067.

4663. The names given by Buchanan are Edward, killed at the siege of Alnwick, Edmund, and Ethelred, died in exile in England, being driven out by their uncle Donald, Edgar, Alexander, and David, afterwards kings, Matilda wife of king Henry I., and Mary wife of Eustace, of Boulogne. (Rerum Scot. Hist., Lib. vii.)

Who was king in England.
 And all his forefathers before him. 4670
 Now I will return to the Danes.
 Cnut and Emma his wife
 Had a very fair daughter.
 Gunhild was the damsel's name.
 The king had besides two sons, 4675
 They were descended only from Danes.
 Harold and Harthacnut were their names.
 These two held the kingdom.
 After Cnut they held it seven years.
 Beyond sea were the children 4680
 Who ought by right to have reigned.
 Men caused them much trouble.
 Cnut was a good king, rich and powerful.
 His inheritance was very great.
 Denmark he had and England. 4685
 All Norway he went to conquer.
 He drove out king Olaf,
 He returned to England.
 While Cnut was reigning better [than Olaf],
 Olaf returned with many folk. 4690
 He thought to recover Norway.
 The Norwegians summoned their army.
 They fought a bitter battle.
 They killed Olaf who was the right king.
 Then was Cnut lord of three kingdoms. 4695
 He found few who dared gainsay him.
 And nevertheless he was gainsaid,
 And his command despised.
 At London he was on the Thames.

4670. AS. Chr. 1067.

4674. Gunhild married the emperor Henry III. (Simeon of Durham, II., 155. Rolls Ed.)

4686. AS. Chr. 1028.

4694. AS. Chr. 1030.

4699. Henry of Huntingdon says this occurred on the sea shore.

The tide flowed near the church, 4700
Which was called Westminster.
The king, on foot, stopped
On the bank, on the sand.
The tide rose quickly,
It approached fast, it came near the king. 4705
Cnut in his hand held his staff.
He said to the tide "Turn back,
"Flee from before me lest I strike thee."
The sea did not go back a step for him ;
And more and more the tide rose. 4710
The king stood, he waited.
Then he struck the water with his staff.
The water for that did not cease,
Before it came up to the king and wetted him.
WHEN the king saw he had waited too long, 4715
And that the tide would do nothing for him,
He went back from the beach.
Then he rested on a stone,
Stretched his hands towards the east,
Hear what he said, his folk listening : 4720
"Him who makes the sea rise,
"Men ought truly to believe and worship.
"He is a good king, I am a poor one.
"I am a mortal man, but He is living ;
"His command makes everything. 4725
"Him I pray to be my guard.
"I will go to Rome to seek Him.
"From Him I will hold all my land."
Then he had his way prepared.
He would go without delay. 4730
He took plenty of gold and silver.
All the bridges which he found
Beyond the mountains on his voyage,
And on this side over the water,
The king had made and repaired 4735

With the goods which he would give.

He redeemed the bondage,

St. Peter's
pence.

By money, of the house

Which the English support at Rome.

By this means he obtained that no one 4740

Of England should be put in irons,

Nor should leave his kingdom,

For any sin he had done.

In his country he should purge himself.

WHEN the king had accomplished this 4745

He returned to England.

But he did not tarry there long.

To Scotland he went with his host.

So well he spoke to the king and promised,

That the king would hold of him, he said. 4750

He had him well [bound] by treaty.

But he could never get service from him.

Before the full month passed

Death of
Cnut.

Both the kings came to their end.

And the sons of Cnut both reigned. 4755

Harold.

Harold first all asked for.

Harthacnut.

He reigned two years and Harthacnut five.

And king Cnut, their father, twenty.

These two gave their sister,

Gunhild, to the powerful emperor, 4760

Who then had Rome in his dominion,

And Almain and Lombardy.

4738. "Et a Johanne Papa ut Scholam Anglorum ab omni tributo et thelone liberaret, impetravit." Florence, 1031. *Legacion* can hardly mean legation here, as the first archbishop of Canterbury who was legate was Theobald, in 1139. (Gervase of Canterbury, ii. 384.) I have ventured to assume that the word should be *ligacion*.

4748. AS. Chr. 1031.

4754. Cnut died November 12, 1035, Malcolm in 1034. AS. Chr.

4757. Harold reigned 4 years 16 weeks, Harthacnut, 2 years less 12 nights.

AS. Chr. 1039, 1042.

But, as I told you before,
 Seven years they ruled the country.
 Then the Danish heirs were dead, 4765 Death of
 Great joy the English made. Harold.
 For the Danes held them cheap, Death of
 Oftentimes they shamed them. Harthacnut.
 If a hundred met one [Dane] alone,
 It was bad for them if they did not bow to him. 4770
 And if they came upon a bridge,
 They waited; it was ill if they moved
 Before the Dane had passed.
 In passing each [Englishman] made obeisance.
 Who did it not, if he was taken, 4775
 Shamefully men beat him.
 So cheap were the English.
 So the Danes insulted them.
 Now they discussed what they should do,
 For which heirs they should send. 4780
 If they sent to Hungary
 It would be too far, they have little aid.
 In the end they agreed
 That they should send to Normandy
 For Eadward and for Ælfred. 4785
 Eadward was the elder brother.
 He had gone into Hungary
 To help his cousins
 In a war which they had.
 The people of Velcase caused it. 4790
 WHEN the English did not find him,
 They brought Ælfred with them.

4787. The AS. Chr. speaks of Eadward coming to England in 1040 before Harthacnut's death.

4790. This probably refers to the last wars of Stephen king of Hungary with Henry duke of Bavaria, son of the emperor Conrad. Can *Velcase* mean *Bulgare*? Bonfinius Rer. Hungar., p. 212.

4792. The AS. Chr. puts Ælfred's return and death in 1036.

Much they hasted because of the Danes.
 They did not wish them to be kings any more.
 And yet there was a man 4795
 Who had a son by the sister of two kings.
 She was the daughter of Cnut and sister of Harold.
 Now hear what he wished to do.
 He wished to make one of his own children heir.
 This hope he afterwards obtained. 4800
 Earl Godwine came to London,
 Which held with the Danes.
 There were all assembled,
 They waited for Ælfred.
 All the thanes of the kingdom 4805
 Had sent for him.
 Earl Godwine thought with himself,
 Took and sent for horsemen,
 And other folk well armed.
 Towards the sea he went. 4810
 That night he lodged at Guildford.
 He had great desire to do wrong.
 Next day Ælfred came there.
 Earl Godwine led him
 To the top of Geldesdone Hill, 4815
 "Sire," said he, "to your crown
 "All that you see belongs,
 "And a thousand times as much and a hundred and
 a hundred.
 ÆLFRED replied, "Thanks to God.
 "If it be permitted me to possess it 4820
 "I will set up good customs,
 "And will love well peace and right."

Treason.

4797. Godwine's wife, Gytha, was sister of Ulf jarl, who married Cnut's sister, Estrith. Lappenberg, ii., 208.

4799. The AS. Chr. (1036) says that Godwine would not permit Ælfred to go to his mother in Winchester, "because the public voice was then greatly in favour of Harold," the son of Cnut. Can this line be due to Gaimar's taking this Harold for Godwine's son?

4815. William of Malmesbury, Lib. ii., 188, says this took place at Gillingham.

Godwine had indeed commanded,
 As soon as he cried "Warrai,"
 That all the Normans should be seized. 4825
 By nines were they killed.
 The nine were straightway beheaded,
 The tenth was saved.
 Thus they were slain by nines,
 One escaped out of ten. 4830
 Then they took Ælfred,
 They carried him to Ely.
 There they put out his eyes.
 Round a stake they had him tied,
 His great intestine they drew out 4835
 With spikes, which they had made,
 There they had him tied thus
 To draw out his bowel,
 So that he could no more stand on his feet.
 His soul fled, and they rejoiced 4840
 That they had murdered him thus.
 For love of Godwine they did this.

BUT the thanes when they heard it,
 Who had sent for Ælfred,
 Where grieved and very sad ; 4845
 And they said, if Godwine were taken,
 No earthly thing should save him ;
 Much worse should he die than Eadric Streona.
 Earl Godwine did not wait,
 He took ship, he and his folk ; 4850
 To Denmark he fled.
 There was he well received.

4834. *Aler* is perhaps an error for *allier* = *alligare*.

4840. The AS. Chr. by saying that Ælfred abode with the monks seems to imply that he lived some time. He was buried in the south porch of Ely Cathedral.

4849. As Mr. Stevenson suggests, this flight of Godwine to Denmark seems to be a confused reference to his flight to Bruges in 1051. AS. Chr.

And the English crossed the sea.
 They go to give hostages to Eadward.
 They make him sure of the crown, 4855
 That they will make him king and chief.
 And he then sent for his company,
 And got ready much folk.
 He came to the sea, crossed it easily,
 And was crowned at London. 4860
 Then he held the land, established his laws.
 Never were such laws before.
 Peace he loved well, and right and justice.
 Therefore he established them in such a way
 That never before, nor since his day 4865
 Could any king make better.
 When he had thus settled and was thus reigning
 Godwine prepared himself.
 With a great fleet, which he had,
 Into Thames he sailed straight. 4870
 Then he sent for his friends,
 Of whom he had many in the country,
 That of their mercy they should speak to the king,
 That he might have his right, this he prayed of them;
 And they did so. They spoke so well, 4875
 Before the king they led him.
 They brought him on this condition
 That he would follow the king's judgment.
 He gave a pledge to do right,
 And many a rich man was surety for him. 4880
 THE pledges were indeed
 Very noble and fair and handsome.
 Of fine silver seven great caskets,
 Of pure gold were the rings,
 Stones were therein of many kinds, 4885
 Well set in gold rings.

Jaspers, sapphires and topazes,
 Beryls, sards, chrysoprases,
 Alectores and diamonds,
 And agates and alabaster (?) 4890
 Very well made were the caskets.
 Each had a lid
 Well worked in gold and silver.
 Each was valued at one hundred marks,
 But for the stones, and for the gold, 5895
 They were worth more than any treasure.
 Earl Godwine had gained them
 From the king of Sweden (?) whom he had killed,
 This was the pledge he gave.
 Then they called him, he would answer. 4900

THE king himself rose,
 With great anger he accused him,
 And said that by him his brother died;
 He betrayed him as a felon and robber;
 And if he purges himself at all of this, 4905
 He shall cause it to be proved, this he said.
 The earl replied:—"Altogether I deny it,
 "As you have told it here.
 "Word by word I will deny it.
 "I will purge it by trial. 4910
 "And I have given you my pledge,
 "By trial let it be granted.
 "Of your appeal and of my answer
 "Let all these barons say the right."
 There was a great assembly, 4915
 Earls, thanes, many a wise man.

4889. *Alectores*. "*Alectorias vocant in ventriculis gallinaceorum inventas, crystallina specie, magnitudine fabæ; quibus Milonem Crotoniensem usum in certaminibus, invictum fuisse videri volunt.*" Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvii. 54.

4890. This compurgation was made by Godwine in the year 1040 according to Florence of Worcester.

Earl Lewine was seated there.
 He was powerful in Cheshire.
 Earl Siward sate there then,
 Who was lord of York, 4920
 And of the county of Huntingdon,
 Which belonged to his person.
 Earl Leofric held Norfolk.
 With the others he sate on the bench.
 Twelve earls there were, very wise, 4925
 Besides thanes and clergy,
 Who listened to his words.
 But they held their peace, none moved
 Thence till they had commandment
 From the king that they should proceed to judg-
 ment, 4930
 And then they rose in their places.
 Earl Siward went first.
 Into a chamber they passed,
 Into which they mounted by a step;
 They seated themselves to judge right. 4935
 Then a knight rose,
 Mærleswegen was his name.
 A Dane he was, rich, and a thane,
 Towards Godwine he bowed himself,
 And nevertheless he spoke right out. 4940
 "Lords," said he, "you have heard
 "How this earl is appealed,
 "And you have heard the answer.
 "He has denied all, you know it well.
 "If the king charges him with felony, 4945

4930. *Algent*, subj. of *aller*. Bartsch's *Chrestomathie*, 506.

4937. Mærleswegen retired to Scotland with Eadgar Ætheling in 1067, and was present at the storming of York in 1069 by Svein's sons Asbiorn and Thorkell. *AS. Chr.* "Marleswain vicecomes" witnesses a charter of the time of William I. in the Peterborough Cartulary called "Swafham," and occurs in Domesday.

- " There has been nothing seen or heard,
 " And no man comes forward
 " Who says, 'It was done in my sight.'
 " Consider it, for it is my belief
 " They may still be friends." 4950
 EARL Siward, on the other side,
 Said, "This I have in my thought,
 " To the king he denies boldly.
 " All he says ought to be credited
 " If he did not deny felony, 4955
 " Treason and perfidy.
 " But from these a man ought to defend himself.
 " He ought to wait for judgment.
 " This is a great matter, an appeal by the king,
 " It will come to trial, I trow, 4960
 " By fire, or by water, or by battle,
 " With one of these three there will be no failure."
 " So it will be, sire," said Freegis,
 " [But] this is not the law of it in this country;
 " For a simple word of a blind accusation 4965
 " We will not make a new trial.
 " By his oath he well acquits himself,
 " There is no need for more delay."
 Leofric spoke, of Northampton:
 " King Eadward wears the crown. 4970
 " Great importance belongs to his appeal.
 " Well should one follow his will.
 " He has taken pledge of justice.
 " I do not think such a one was ever seen.
 " As he commenced it in honour, 4975
 " He cries for mercy to his lord.
 " According to the appeal which the king made,
 " By law he will follow his plea.

4963. The name Fregis appears as the holder of land in Stotfald hundred, Northants, before the Conquest. Domesday Book, 223.

" There is nothing to do with battle,	
" Of no avail is an oath,	4980
" Nor fire, nor water, nor ordeal.	
" We will not judge in such manner.	
" A witness by hearing or seeing,	
" He ought by right to have,	
" Who wishes to bring another to the iron,	4985
" Or make him float in water ;	
" But a decision without a trial,	
" Let us decide on together.	
" Of great riches and honour,	
" Let him make an offer to his lord,	4990
" Let the offer be such as I shall say.	
" I will impose it on Earl Godwine.	
" Let him be armed and his five sons,	
" And his nephews, of whom he has ten.	
" Let them be armed, sixty in all.	4995
" With all arms let them be provided.	
" According to the law of us English,	
" Let all their harness be specified.	
" Let the hauberks be broidered with gold,	
" And the helms be circled with gold,	5000
" And the shields with gold bosses.	
" Earl Godwine has great treasure.	
" On each bracelet let there be as much gold	
" As weighs at least twenty ounces.	
" On their arms let them have their gold	
manacles.	5005

4985. *Fer* perhaps refers to the hot ploughshares of the ordeal.

4996. Quorum unusquisque habebat duas in suis brachiis aureas armillas, sedecim uncias pendentes, lorica tralicem indutam, in capite cassidem ex parte deauratam, gladium deauratis capulis renibus accinetum, Danicam sceurim auro argentoque redimitam in sinistro humero pendentem, in manu sinistra clipeum, ejus umbo clavique erant deaurati, in dextra lanceam quæ lingua Anglorum ategar appellatur. Florence, 1040.

" In such wise let them give themselves to the king,
 " That the king may have all their homages.
 " Let them bring hostages to keep faith,
 " And their harness be delivered to him ;
 " Then let him do his will. 5010
 " Let earl Godwine be with the king,
 " At his mercy, until he has reparation.
 " This award, if it be agreed to,
 " Is very honourable on both sides.
 " Nor for us will it be ill settled, 5015
 " According to the appeal which the king has made,
 " If we decide it thus."
 All said " We grant it well."

Now all were agreed to this.
 They came before the king. 5020
 When this award was repeated
 It was granted by both sides.
 The king received all their homages ;
 He took hostages for keeping faith.
 He took the arms, the gold and the silver. 5025
 He kissed them as a sign of agreement.
 And the earl served him so well
 That they were afterwards such good friends
 That the king married his daughter,
 And crowned her as queen, 5030
 And restored to him all his earldom,
 And raised all his sons.
 He made them earls, so much he loved them.
 With great honour Eadward reigned.

At the time that this was so, 5035
 And this king thus reigned,
 Then were the Normans driven
 Out of the land, all in anger.

5029. Eadgyth. AS. Chr. 1044 (1043).

5037. AS. Chr. 1052.

Likewise archbishop Robert
 Was driven out, and lost much. 5040
 Earl Godwine then died.
 At Winchester he was buried.
 Earl Siward then agreed
 With the king of Scotland, whither he went.
 But Macbeth broke the peace, 5045
 And made no stay in warring.
 Earl Siward caused ships to be brought,
 His host he sent by sea,
 And a great host he led by land.
 Against Macbeth he raised such war, 5050
 He defeated him in battle,
 And slew many of his men.
 Gold and silver, harness and swords,
 He gained in those countries.
 But a son of his, Osbern by name, 5055
 And his nephew Siward Barn,
 And one of the king's knights,
 Whom Siward had taken with him,
 And the housecarles whom he led,
 He left dead in Scotland. 5060
 After this Siward departed.
 Then they made Tostig earl,
 He was son of Godwine.
 He had no right in York.
 Then died earl Leofric. 5065
 Of his honour was Raulf seized.
 But little time he held it, and soon ended.
 He was a right good man, a short time he lived.

5040. AS. Chr. 1053.

5043. AS. Chr. 1054.

5061. He died at York. AS. Chr. 1055.

5065. AS. Chr. 1057.

5066. Earl Raulf, Eadward's nephew, died the same year, but did not succeed to Leofric's earldom, which descended to his son Ælfgar. The mistake is no doubt due to the proximity of the two names in the Chronicle.

The earl was buried at Peterborough.
 At Coventry, earl Leofric. 5070
 King Griffith then made treaty.
 He protected earl Ælfgar.
 But short time lasted the treaty.
 He often wrought evil on king Eadward.
 Then came Tostig from the north, 5075
 And Harold from the south, from Oxford.
 The two brothers led a great host.
 Straight towards Wales they journeyed.
 The South Welsh fought
 Against Griffith, conquered his folk, 5080
 Cut off the king's head,
 Presented it to Harold and Tostig,
 And they carried it to Eadward.
 There was no more care about the Welsh.
 But the Scotch warred against them. 5085
 Often they harried Northumberland.
 King Eadward drew near.
 Two bishops he sent,
 Bishops Ægelwine and Kynsige,
 With them went earl Tostig. 5090
 To king Malcolm so well they spoke
 That they brought him beyond the Tweed.
 He came to meet king Eadward.
 He had speech with Malcolm.
 Presents he gave him; much he honoured him, 5095
 Which he made ill use of.
 Peace and truce they took between them.
 But it lasted few days.
 To Rome went earl Tostig,

5071. AS. Chr. 1058.

5075. AS. Chr. 1063.

5089. Simeon of Durham, Hist. Reg. II. 174. Ægelwine was bishop of Durham and Kynsige archbishop of York.

5099. AS. Chr. 1061.

	With him the countess Judith.	5100
	Meanwhile his earldom	
	King Malcolm harried all ;	
	Holy Island then was harried,	
	Which had been always spared before.	
	Then long time after this	5105
	Gathered monks and people	
	To meet bishop Ægelwine,	
St. Oswine.	Who took from the earth St. Oswine.	
	Four hundred years and fifteen beside	
	Had the body lain there,	5110
	At Tynemouth, where it was	
	And still is. This is true.	
	And God does there many works	
	By the holy body, as is known.	
	IN this year returned Tostig	5115
	And the countess Judith.	
	Peace was made with Malcolm.	
	With him went the thanes.	
	Those of York, at his return,	
	Had Tostig in such hatred	5120
	That he could not enter the city.	
	For a little they would have killed him.	
	Many of his housecarles they slew,	
	And ill-used several of his retinue.	
	Then they made Morkere earl,	5125
	He was son of earl Ælfgar.	
	WHEN they had made Morkere lord,	
	He went with the host to Northamptonshire.	
	They harried all this county.	
	They brought the spoil to York.	5130
	Tostig went to Baldwin,	

5108. Florence of Worcester, 1065.

5120. AS. Chr. 1065.

5131. Baldwin, count of Flanders. The AS. Chr. frequently calls Flanders "Baldwines lande."

Whose sister, lady Judith, he had to wife.	
He received him with great honour,	
And made cheer with his sister.	
Then it was from the Nativity	5135
A thousand years and sixty-six passed.	1066.
In this year Eadward departed,	Death of
Twenty-four years he reigned, I trow.	Eadward.
The best king, and the best	
That the English had for lord.	5140
And queen Eadgyth died,	Death of
As God pleased and must be.	queen
At Westminster they were laid	Eadgyth.
In two tombs right well wrought.	
AFTER their death a comet	5145
(A star, that is, of which soothsayers	
And good astronomers	
Know that it portends either good or ill)	
Showed itself in the firmament.	
Many people saw it well.	5150
On the night of "Litania Major"	
It made as much brightness as if it were day.	
Many men looked at it.	
In many places they foretold from it.	
Each man said his guess,	5155
But soon followed the great strife,	
And the great tribulation,	
Which afterwards came to the country.	
Then came Tostig with much folk.	
Most of them were Flemings.	5160
At Wardstane they landed.	
All that country they sorely harried,	
And many men they slew.	

5136. King Eadward died 5 January 1066. AS. Chr. 1066.

5151. Vij. kal. Mai. (24 April). Pingré says it was seen in China on April 2 and in the West on April 16, and lasted till June. (Cométographie, I., 375.)

They went to Thanet. In that land
 Copsi came to meet him. 5165
 A thane of his who held of him,
 He came from the Isle of Orkney.
 Seventeen ships he had in his charge.
 Then they overran Brunemuc.
 That country they confounded. 5170
 Great damage and great misery
 They caused there and elsewhere.
 Then they went to Humber with their fleet.
 A great prey they took in Lindsey.
 Many men they slew there, 5175
 Before they left the country.
 EARL Eadwine with a right great host
 Quickly came to Lindsey.
 Then he defended this country from them.
 But they had already done much evil. 5180
 Earl Morkere on the other side
 Defended his land. They cared not for him.
 They were on Humber, near the sea,
 Where he prevented their landing.
 But the Flemings, when they saw this, 5185
 Departed, and failed Tostig.
 They went back to their land laden
 With the plunder of miserable English.
 With those then, who remained,
 They turned, then they departed. 5190
 Towards Scotland they went,
 To Malcolm who had sent for them.
 Earl Tostig honoured him much,
 And gave him fair gifts.
 The king of Norway came thither 5195
 With a great fleet, and held with Tostig.

5161. This must be Tostig's descent in the Isle of Wight and Sandwich mentioned in the AS. Chr. 1066, and also by Florence and by Simon of Durham, II., 179.

Harold Hardrada was the name of this king.
 With him held the Danes.
 So much they spoke, he and Tostig,
 Each pledged his faith to the other, 5200
 That all which they conquered together,
 All equally they would divide.
 Now they wished first by their war
 To share between them all England.
 They two had a great fleet, 5205
 Four hundred ships and seventy more.
 So far they floated and so far sailed
 That they entered the water of Humber.
 From Humber they came to Ouse.
 At St. Wilfrid's they left their ships. 5210
 Next day they came straight sailing
 To York, in the evening.
 But the two earls met them.
 They led the men of seven counties.
 At Fulford they fought. 5215
 The Norsemen won the field.
 But on both sides was great slaughter.
 Then the Norsemen took the land.
 They went on seizing all that country,
 And driving off much booty. 5220
 Who knows not, let him here remember
 It was twelve days within September.

 FIFTEEN days after king Harold came;
 Against the Norsemen he fought a battle.
 This was Harold, son of Godwine, 5225
 Who punished the Norsemen.

5197. Both Gaimar and the AS. Chr. call him Harfagri instead of Hardrada.

5210. The editor of the Monumenta suggests that this place may be Brayton, of which the church is dedicated to St. Wilfrid.

5215. The AS. Chr. does not mention the place of the battle.

5222. St. Matthew's Eve, 20 September, or 12 Cal. Octobris.

This was at the Bridge of Battle;
 He found the Norsemen plundering cattle.
 King Harold then followed them.
 Fiercely they fought. 5230

Death of
 Harold
 Hardrada,
 and Tostig.

The other Harold he slew on the field,
 And did likewise with Tostig.
 He had the victory over the Danes.
 It seemed great glory to the people of the south.
 But no one could count half 5235
 Of those who were killed on the field.
 All the ships and their harness
 King Harold seized.
 The king's son was found there.
 He was led to Harold, 5240
 Mercy he begged, ransom he promised.
 Harold took homage of him ;
 And of all the rest
 He took good and worthy hostages.
 With twenty ships he let them go. 5245
 Then they rowed till they reached the sea.

William
 Bastard.

FIVE days after there landed
 Frenchmen, with quite eleven thousand ships,
 At Hastings upon the sea.
 There they built a castle. 5250
 When king Harold heard of it
 He gave over to bishop Ealdred
 The much booty and harness
 Which he had gained from the Norsemen.
 Mærleswegen then he left there. 5255
 To summon a host he went to the south.
 Five days he took in gathering them ;
 But he could get together but few,
 Because of the many men who had been killed

5239. Olaf, AS. Chr., or Hetmund in one MS.

5247. St. Michael's eve, 28th September, AS. Chr.

When God did justice on the Norsemen. 5260
 As far as Sussex Harold went.
 Such men as he could he took with him.
 His two brothers gathered men;
 To the battle they came with him,
 The one was Gyrth, the other Leofwine, 5265
 Against the folk from beyond sea.
 WHEN the battles were drawn up, Battle.
 And ready to strike,
 Many men there were on both sides.
 In courage they seemed leopards. 5270
 One of the French then hasted,
 Before the others he rode.
 Taillefer was he named.
 He was a minstrel, and bold enough.
 Arms he had and a good horse. 5275
 He was a bold and noble warrior.
 Before the others he set himself.
 Before the English he did wonders.
 He took his lance by the butt
 As if it had been a truncheon. 5280
 Up high he threw it,
 And by the head he caught it.
 Three times thus he threw his lance.
 The fourth time, he advanced quite near,
 Among the English he hurled it. 5285
 Through the body he wounded one.
 Then he drew his sword, retreated,
 Threw the sword which he held,
 On high, then caught it.
 One said to the other, who saw this, 5290
 That this was enchantment
 Which he did before the folk.

5279. The reading of D. and L. (*cuet*, *cued*) is probably right. In v. 217
 the word means *tail*, and no doubt here means the butt end of the lance.
 Taillefer is not mentioned in the AS. Chr., but by Florence of Worcester,
 Henry of Huntingdon, and Wace.

WHEN three times he had thrown his sword,
 The horse with open mouth
 Went bounding towards the English, 5295
 So that there were some who thought they would be
 eaten

By the horse who thus gaped.
 The minstrel had taught him this.
 With his sword he struck an Englishman.
 He made his hand fly off on the spot. 5300
 Another he struck as well as he could.
 An ill reward that day he had,
 For the English, on all sides,
 Hurl'd at him javelins and darts.
 They killed him and his horse. 5305
 In an evil hour had he asked for the first blow.
 After this the French attacked them,
 And the English struck back.
 There was raised a very great cry.
 Until evening there was no cease 5310
 Of striking or thrusting.
 Many knights died there.
 I cannot name them, I dare not lie,
 Who struck the best.

[EARL Alan of Brittany 5315
 Struck well with his company.
 He struck like a baron.
 Right well the Bretons did.
 With the king he came to this land
 To help him in his war. 5320
 He was his cousin, of his lineage,
 A nobleman of high descent.

5322. In *Faustina*, B. vii., f. 72, is an illumination of earl Alan receiving a charter from William I. granting him the land of earl Eadwine in Yorkshire. The pedigree appended is printed in *Dugdale, Mon. Angl.*, v. 574, with an insufficient reference.

Much he served and loved the king,
 And he right well rewarded him.
 Richmond he gave him in the north, 5325
 A good castle fair and strong.
 In many places in England
 The king gave him land.
 Long he held it, and then came to his end.
 At St. Edmund's he was buried. 5330
 Now I have spoken of this baron
 I will return to my story.
 He and the others struck so well
 That they gained the battle.]
 But I know well that in the end 5335
 The English had the worse.
 In the evening they turned to flight.
 Many a body remained, empty of the soul.
 Harold lay there and his two brothers;
 By them died sons and fathers, 5340
 Uncles, nephews of all the lords.
 The English endured their violence.
 Leofwine and Gyrth were slain.
 Earl William had the country.
 Twenty-two years was he its lord, 5345
 Except five weeks to tell.

BUT when he had reigned a short time
 And well quieted the land,
 A thousand and sixty-seven years there had been MLXVII.
 Since God was born, as it pleased Him. 5350
 Then the king sent for his knights,
 He retained full a thousand soldiers;
 Straightway he crossed the sea,
 To Normandy he went,
 He settled the country, then he returned. 5355
 At London he held festival,

	But in coming from Normandy Some of his people perished at sea. This year truly	
	Many folk saw a sign.	5360
	In likeness of fire it was, In the air it greatly flamed and burned :	
Comet.	Towards the earth it approached, For a little it quite lighted it up.	
	Then it revolved up above,	5365
	Then fell into the deep sea. In many places it burnt woods and plains. There was no man who was certain Nor who knew what this meant, Nor what this sign portended.	5370
	In the country of Northumberland This fire went about showing itself ; And in one year, in two seasons, Were these displays.	
	In this year, truly,	5375
	King William, with much folk, With earls and with his barons, Went far in his regions. When he came to Nottingham, He sent to York by ban,	5380
	And by prayer and by love, That they should acknowledge him as lord. He sent an archbishop thither. Ealdred was his name, by him he ordered (He was archbishop of the city ;	5385
	Very far went his power,) That to him should come all the thanes Of the city and the neighbourhood. For to those who would hold of him Their inheritance, he would well return	5390

5363. This comet appeared in May, 1067. Pingré, l. 378.
5379. AS. Chr. 1067.

What their ancestors had before,
 And what their fathers held,
 In peace to go and safe to come ;
 He who wished to depart from him
 Might go back safely, 5395
 He should have no hindrance.
 All those who were summoned came,
 The king imprisoned them.
 To York then he went.
 In a castle he shut up 5400
 The thanes taken in the country.
 He gave their lands to the French.
 Then he went south, harrying ;
 Many a town he left burning.
 In this year I tell you of 5405
 Came back Godwine, Eadmund, and Tostig.
 Godwine and Eadmund, the sons of Harold,
 And the son of Swegen, Tostig, came back.
 With a great fleet they came.
 Ernold (Eadnoth) was aware of it, 5410
 A rich man of the country.
 He sent for his folk and his friends,
 He gathered a host, went against them,
 A fierce battle he then fought with them.
 But I cannot say truly 5415
 Who struck most hardily.
 But this I know, the Danes conquered ;
 French and English lost the day,
 Many died and many were slain.

5400. This treacherous capture of the English lords is not mentioned in the AS. Chr., only the building of the castle. Simeon puts the visit to York in 1068.

5405. According to the AS. Chr. 1067 one of Harold's sons attacked Bristol that year and was beaten off by Eadnoth, and next year both of them entered the Taw, and were again beaten off by earl Brian.

5408. Swegen III., king of Denmark 1046-74. He left no legitimate issue, but thirteen natural sons, the names of all of whom are not known.

Then the Danes took York. 5420
 But the good king when he heard of it
 Grieved much and was greatly wroth.
 Then he made ready Flemings.
 He sent them there to war.
 At Durham, on a hill, 5425
 There they would make a castle.
 But the English were troubled at this,
 With the Flemings they meddled.
 They slew them all in one day.
 Both the men and their lord. 5430
 THIS year Swegen sent
 (A king full of wrath)
 His brother Asbiorn and his three sons,
 Harold and Cnut and Buern Leriz,
 With a great fleet into England. 5435
 Danes, Norsemen, to make war,
 Entered the mouth of Humber.
 The peasants came against them;
 To York they came,
 And the castles they beat down, 5440
 Which the Normans had built.
 Many a soul left its body,
 For the wardens were slain.
 Very few escaped alive.
 Gold and silver enough 5445
 And of other goods much they got.
 English and Danes divided it.
 Such took a share as had no joy thereof.

5420. By the Danes, Gaimar means Eadgar Ætheling and some Northumbrians. AS. Chr. 1068.

5425. AS. Chr. 1068. Simeon of Durham, II p. 187.

5430. AS. Chr. 1069.

5434. See Anderson's Genealogies 418. Harold IX. and Cnut IV., who succeeded their father Swegen. Another son who succeeded Swegen was Eric the Good. It is possible that Buern Leriz is an error for Eric Barn. Langebeck, Script. Rer. Dan. iii., 282. L'Art de Vérifier (Ed. 1770), 503.

For the king came, took the city,
 Danes, Norsemen, all he slew. 5450
 King William did not end then,
 He destroyed everything as far as Tyne.
 Bishop Walchere was slain.
 The king destroyed his enemies,
 At Gateshead he avenged him, 5455
 The king who had sent him thither.
 A YEAR after bishop Ægelwine
 And Siward Barn to sea
 Went from Scotland with new ships.
 As far as Humber they sailed. 5460
 Earl Morkere came to meet them.
 He took ship, and joined with them.
 At Welle they met the English.
 They were outlaws to king William.
 So much they spoke about comradeship, 5465
 That each wished to help the other.
 There were many outlaws.
 One noble man was their lord,
 Who was named Hereward,
 One of the best of the country. 5470
 Normans had disinherited him.
 Now all were gathered with him.
 Earl Morkere and his thanes,
 The bishop and his companions.
 Then they harried much of the country 5475
 Which the Normans had taken.
 Thence they went to Ely.
 They did not fear their enemy.
 There they would tarry,
 And let the winter pass. 5480
 But when William heard this

5453. AS. Chr. 1080.

5458. AS. Chr. 1072 (1071).

5463. By Welle, Gaimar probably means Ely. See AS. Chr. 1072 (1071).

He prepared himself for something quite different.
 He summoned his host, sent for men-of-war,
 French, English, and horsemen.
 Towards the sea he sent sailors, 5485
 Shipmen, sergeants, freebooters,
 And other folk, of whom he had many.
 None of the besieged could depart,
 And besides throughout the woods
 All the passes were guarded, 5490
 And the marsh all round
 Was well guarded against them.

THEN the king commanded
 That a bridge should be built across the marsh.
 He said that he would destroy them all, 5495
 That none should escape him.
 When they knew this at Ely
 They put themselves at his mercy.
 All went to cry for mercy,
 Except Hereward, who was right brave. 5500
 He escaped with few folk,
 Geri with him, his kinsman.
 With them they had five companions.
 A man who brought fish
 To the guards along the marsh 5505
 Acted like a good and courteous man.
 In his boat he received them.
 With reeds and flags he covered them up.
 Towards the guards he began to row,
 As the evening began to grow dark, 5510
 Near their quarters in his boat.
 The French were in a tent.
 Guy, the sheriff, was their captain.
 Well he knew the fisherman,
 And well they knew it was he coming, 5515
 Of him none of them took heed.
 They saw the fisherman rowing.

It was night, they sat at meat.
 Forth from the ship came Hereward.
 In courage like a leopard. 5520
 His comrades came after.
 In a wood they made for the tent.
 With them came the fisherman.
 Hereward was erst his lord.
 What shall I say? The knights 5525
 Were surprised at their meal.
 They entered with axes in their hands.
 In striking hard they were not amiss,
 Twenty and six Normans they slew,
 And twelve English were slain there. 5530
 Great was the fear among the houses.
 They shared in the flight.
 They left horses all saddled.
 The outlaws mounted them,
 At leisure and safe. 5535
 They had no hindrance,
 They were ready to do mischief.
 Each chose a good horse.
 The wood was near, they entered in,
 They did not go at random. 5540
 Well they knew all that country.
 Many of their friends were there.
 In a town to which they came
 They found ten of their comrades,
 These joined Hereward. 5545
 Before they were eight, now they were ten more,
 Eighteen comrades there were.
 Before they had passed Huntingdon
 They had a hundred men well armed,
 Of Hereward's own vassals. 5550
 His men they were and faithful to him.
 Before the morrow's sun had risen

5530. These Englishmen were on the Norman side. Hereward's party only amounted to eight (v. 5503), and none were killed (v. 5546).

Seven hundred had come to him.
 They followed him to Bruneshwald.
 Now their company was very large, 5555
 They assaulted a city.
 They assaulted Peterborough which had betrayed him.
 Soon was the wall all broken.
 They entered in, enough they took
 Of gold and silver, vair and gris. 5560
 Other gear there was enough.
 They wrought this thing upon the monks.
 Thence they went to Stamford.
 They did no wrong with what they took there,
 For the townsmen resisted, 5565
 So that Hereward was driven away.
 They raised strife against the king,
 With much wrong and lawlessness.
 Thus he avenged himself, and it was no wrong,
 On the men of Peterborough and Stamford. 5570
 What shall I say? For many years
 Hereward held out against the Normans;
 He and Winter, his comrade,
 And Dan Geri, a brave man,
 Alveriz, Grugan, Saiswold, Azecier, 5575
 These and the other men of war
 Warred thus against the French.
 If one of them met three
 They did not leave without a fight.
 This was seen again at Bruneshwald, 5580
 Where Gier fought,
 Who was right strong and brave and hardy.
 With six others he attacked Hereward,
 His body alone. He (Hereward) did not care.
 Four he slew, three fled. 5585
 Wounded, bleeding, they fled.
 In many places it befel thus

 5557. AS. Chr. 1070.

5563. To Ely. AS. Chr. 1070.

5575. See the names of his comrades at vol. I. p. 373.

That he defended himself well against seven.
 Of seven men he had the strength.
 A hardier man was never seen. 5590

THUS for several years he warred,
 Till a lady sent for him,
 Who had heard speak of him.
 Many times she sent for him
 That he should come to her, if he pleased; 5595
 Her father would give him the honour,
 And if he took her for wife
 Well could he war against the French.
 It was Alfrued who thus sent
 To Hereward, whom she loved much. 5600
 So many times she sent for him
 That Hereward made ready.
 He went to her with many folk.
 Verily he had a truce;
 He was about to make peace with the king. 5605
 Within the month he was to pass
 The sea to fight the men of Le Mans,
 Who had taken the king's castles.
 He had been there before.
 He had slain Gauter del Bois, 5610
 And Dan Gefrai del Maine
 He had kept a week in prison.
 Now he thought to go in peace.
 Gold and silver he had great plenty.

WHEN the Normans heard this 5615
 They broke the peace, they set on him.
 At his meat they set on him.
 If Hereward had been warned
 The bravest would have appeared a coward.

5599. The Vita Herwardi calls her "uxor Dolfini Comitiss," but gives no name. See Vol. I., p. 397.

5611. I suppose this means Geoffrey of Mayenne, whose castle was taken by William I. in 1063 (Freeman, N. C. III. 208-12), and who was also concerned in the subsequent insurrection in Maine in 1073, which is perhaps the occasion referred to here.

Ailward watched him ill, 5620
His chaplain. He should have watched,
But fell asleep upon a rock.
What shall I say? He was surprised,
But nobly he carried himself.
He carried himself like a lion, 5625
He and Winter, his companion.
As he could not lay hold on his hauberk,
Nor on his arms to arm himself,
Nor could leap on his horse,
He took a shield which he saw lie, 5630
And a lance and a sword.
He girded on the sword, he bared it,
Before all his comrades
He made himself ready like a lion.
Proudly he said to the French, 5635
“ The King had given me truce,
“ But you come in anger,
“ Take my gear, and slay my men.
“ You have surprised me at my meat.
“ Foul traitors, I will sell myself dear” 5640
Three javelins a servant held,
His man he was, he came before him.
One of them he handed to his lord.
A knight was going about,
Through all the field he went seeking 5645
And asking oft for Hereward.
Of his men he had slain
And put to death as many as ten.
As he went seeking him
The hero came before him. 5650
He let fly the javelin at him.
In the middle of the shield it struck the knight.
It burst through his hauberk, it did not stop.
It pierced his heart, thus it befel,
And he fell, it could no other be. 5655
At his death he had no priest.
Then the Normans set on him,

They shot at him and hurled spears ;
 On all sides they surrounded him.
 In many places they wounded his body, 5660
 And he struck them as does a wild boar,
 As long as the lance could hold out.
 And when the lance failed him,
 With his sword of steel he struck great blows.
 Such a one thought to have had him very cheap 5665
 Who had to buy him with his life.
 And when they found him so hard,
 Some dared no longer stay ;
 For he struck strongly,
 He attacked them quick and often. 5670
 With the sword he killed four.
 With the strokes he struck the wood resounded.
 But then broke his brand of steel
 Upon the helm of a knight ;
 And he took the shield in his hands 5675
 And smote with it so that he killed two Frenchmen.
 But four came at his back
 Who smote him through the body,
 With four lances they smote him.
 No wonder if he fell. 5680
 On his knees he kneeled.
 With such force he threw the shield,
 That one of those who had smitten him
 He smote so hard with the shield in its flight
 That in two halves he broke his neck. 5685
 This man was named Raul de Dol.
 From Tutbury (?) he had come.
 Now both were struck dead,
 Hereward and the Breton,
 Raul de Dol was his name. 5690
 Then Halselin killed outright
 This Hereward, and took off his head.

5687. Tutbury belonged to Henry de Ferrers. Domesday Book (f. 248b) mentions a "Radulfus Miles Henrici," who might be the same as this Raul de Dol.

He swore by God and His strength,
 And the others who saw him,
 Many times they swore hard 5695
 That one so bold had never been found ;
 And that if he had had with him three such,
 Ill would the French have come there.
 And if he had not been killed thus
 He would have driven them all out of the country. 5700

EARL Morkere, his comrade,
 Died in a long imprisonment.
 Thus did the bishop also,
 Who foolishly surrendered themselves.
 And the others who surrendered 5705
 Suffered such evils in the prison
 Better would it have been for them, when they were
 taken,
 That they had been killed that day
 When they were cast into prison,
 And Hereward escaped. 5710

AFTER this, in that time,
 As the true history tells us,
 King William and his barons
 Led a great host against Malcolm.
 Malcolm assembled his host. 5715
 He came to meet them readily, and soon
 At Abernethy met
 These two kings. So much spoke
 Their lords that they agreed.
 All the Scotch thanked God. 5720
 This was done three years after.
 Raul, the earl of Waers,

5700. Morkere was set free by William I. just before his death, and imprisoned again by his successor. Simeon of Durham, 1087.

5703. Bishop Egelwine died at Abingdon. AS. Chr. 1072 (1071).

5711. AS. Chr. 1073 (1072).

5717. Simeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester, *s. a.* 1072.

5722. Ralph Guader, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. AS. Chr. 1076 (1075). Sim. Dunelm. 1074.

Was banished. He had forfeited.	
King William took Waltheof.	
Earl Waltheof and earl Roger	5725
Would drive out the king.	
Afterwards Waltheof lost his head	
For this rashness, and from Winchester	
Long time after he was removed,	
As pleased God and his mercy.	5730
Monks they were who carried him away.	
To St. Guthlac they presented him.	
At Croyland they buried him.	
His body they cherished well.	
Afterwards it was often seen in the place	5735
That God did by it many works.	
Then after this, in a short time,	
The king died, I trow.	Death of William Bastard.
And the queen had died,	
Maud, who led a good life.	5740
Three sons survived this king,	
And fair daughters more than three.	
His eldest son was named Robert.	
Under heaven there was no better lord.	
He was duke of Normandy.	5745
Over Normans was his dominion.	
Much goodness and much valour	
And much foreign service	
Did this duke of Normandy,	
And much fair knighthood.	5750
This was he who did right well.	
Jerusalem he took from the heathen.	
He conquered the good city.	

5725. Roger, son of Wm. FitzOsbert, earl of Hereford. AS. Chr., Sim. Dunelm.

5727. AS. Chr. 1077 (1076).

5738. September 9, 1087. AS. Chr.

5752 Jerusalem was taken in June 1099. Hen. Hunt., p. 229.

By Christians he was praised.
 For Curbarant, whom he slew, 5755
 The duke came into such high worth,
 That they wished to choose him king.
 They counselled that he should be their lord
 At the city of Antioch.
 There was he held as protector. 5760
 He conquered it like a valiant lord;
 Then he gave it to the Normans;
 And the other good cities,
 As the duke devised,
 Were divided and given, 5765
 The lands and the countries.
 Duke Godfrey by his award,
 Was made king in Jerusalem.
 Because he (Robert) did not wish to tarry there,
 He left it to him. He made him his heir thereof. 5770
 Then he returned by Conversana.
 He took with him the duke's daughter, Sibilla;
 To Normandy with her he came.
 A son he had, he kept her long.
 Now I will speak of the king, his brother. 5775
 He had the name of William, as his father had.
 He was much praised.
 The English, the Normans crowned him.
 While the duke was conquering
 They made him king in England, 5780
 And he held it and reigned well.
 Normans, English he ruled hard.
 All the land he brought to peace.

5755. Curbarant or Kerboga, general of the Sultan of Persia, was defeated before Antioch by the Christians and slain by duke Robert on June 28, 1098. *Hen. Hunt.*, 227. *W. Malms.*, Bk. iv., § 364.

5767. Godfrey de Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem 1099.

5772. Sibilla, Robert's wife, was the daughter of William de Conversano. He married her on his return from the East in Apulia. *W. Malms.*, *Gesta Regum*, iv., c. 2.

Then he crossed the sea; he went to Séez
 With a right great host which he had gathered. 5785
 At Alençon he crossed the Sarthe.
 He came into Maine, and besieged Le Mans.
 He tarried till he took the city.
 Then he left some of his household there,
 And went into England. 5790
 The people of Anjou and Maine,
 By the command of Geoffrey Martel,
 Came to Le Mans, and besieged it.
 On all sides round they sat down,
 And much they threatened those within, 5795
 And said it was bad for them that they had come
 inside.

BUT none the less a messenger
 Went full fast to tell the king.
 He found him at Brockenhurst, 5800
 At the head of the New Forest,
 Where he sat at his dinner.
 When he saw the king rise from his meat,
 He came before him, he saluted him.
 The king asked him, "How goes it? 5805
 "How fare my knights
 "Whom I left in Le Mans the other day?"
 "Sir," said he, "they are besieged,
 "The siege extends as far as the bridge.
 "On all sides of the city
 "Are the Angevins quartered. 5810
 "More than a thousand tents are spread.

5784. King William went to Normandy in February 1091, *AS. Chr.*, but this refers to his second journey thither in November 1097.

5788. William took Le Mans in August 1098.

5792. Geoffrey Martel was the son of Fulk IV., surnamed Le Rechin, count of Anjou, 1060-1109, and Hermengarde, daughter of Archambaud IV., lord of Bourbon. Geoffrey was killed at the siege of the castle of Lande in 1106.

5800. This is narrated by William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Regum*, iv., 1.

“ Never was such pride seen.
“ Each day they set up gallows
“ Whereon to hang knights
“ And soldiers, and townsmen. 5815
“ Take this letter, Sir king.”
The king took it, broke it open at once.
He gave the letter to Ranulf Flambard.
All that the messenger had said
The knights sent in their letter ; 5820
That he should send succour to the city
For each day the folk increased.
THE king when he heard it, was sore grieved.
On a horse he straightway leapt ;
To Southampton he went ; 5825
He sent for all his soldiers ;
He ordered them to come after him,
To make no stay till they came to him.
And he with a privy company,
Came to the sea, and passed it. 5830
Against the wind he passed the sea.
The steersman asked him
If he would go with a contrary wind
And endanger himself on the sea.
“ Brother,” said he, “ hold your peace, 5835
“ You never saw a king drowned.
“ Nor shall I be now the first.
“ Set your ships afloat.”
So far have they sailed and steered
That they arrived at Barfleur. 5840
He had in his household retinue
A thousand and seven hundred at that time.
All were rich knights.
Know that the king held them dear,
The knights whom he retained. 5845
In short space he did good to them.
Rich they were and well equipped,
Among them was no poverty.

But richly came the king,
 Like a wise and courteous man. 5850
 The soldiers whom he had summoned,
 Of them there were more than enough.
 Three thousand had the king's writ.
 He kept them, I know not why,
 For he had no war, 5855
 Nor did he fear any man,
 But for his great nobility
 He had joined such folk to him.
 What shall I say of his barons?
 What a man was earl Hugh! 5860
 The emperor of Lombardy
 Did not lead such a company,
 As he did of his private retinue.
 Never was his house shut
 To gentleman or freeman. 5865
 Water in pool or pond
 Was [not] easier to draw
 Than was his drink and food.
 Always he had riches in plenty.
 Never did he give so much one day 5870
 That on the morrow he remembered it,
 And did not part with as much again.
 Earl of Chester he was called.
 With much folk he went to the king.
 Robert, the earl of Mellent, 5875
 Went to the king with much folk.
 Earl Robert, he of Belesme,

5860. Hugh Lupus of Avranches, son of the sister of William I., created earl of Chester 1070.

5875. Robert de Mellent was son of Roger de Beaumont, founder of the abbey of Préaux in Normandy. His power and influence both in England and Normandy are mentioned by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, v., 407, and Henry of Huntingdon in the *Epistola de Contemptu Mundi*.

5877. Robert de Belesme, son of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Chichester, Arundel, and Shrewsbury. Dugdale, I. 28. Gaimar says nothing of his

Had a thousand knights at his will.
 In England he had three counties.
 Earl of Ponthieu was he called, 5880
 So was he earl of Lencmeis,
 Of Esparlon, and Sessuneis,
 His was Argentan and Séez.
 Roche Mabile was in his peace.
 In Rouen he had many streets. 5885
 He was earl of six counties.
 He was the best knight
 That men knew, to war.
 He came to his lord the king.
 A thousand knights he led with him. 5890
 And Hugh de Muncumeri
 Came to the king likewise.
 Earl Roger was their brother.
 He had the surname of Poitevin.
 Earl Ernulf was the fourth brother. 5895
 In person he was worth an emperor.
 These four were of Normandy.
 To the king there came to give aid
 Walter Giffard and the earl of Eu.
 Their knights were no wise few. 5900
 Earl William, he of Evreux,
 He and Eustace of Dreux,
 Came to the king with many men.

cruelty and other vices of which Henry of Huntingdon and Orderic speak.

5882. Sessuneis may be an error for Sonnois, a district between Roche Mabile and Belesme.

5883. Argentuil. Dugdale, i. 29.

5891. Robert de Bellesme's younger brother, who held the earldom before him.

5894. So called because he married a Poitevin lady. W. Malmes., v.

5899. Walter Giffard was created earl of Buckingham by William I. William count of Eu deserted Robert duke of Normandy for his brother William in 1094. Sim. Dunelm., ii, 223.

5901. Son of William count of Evreux.

At Barfleur they waited for his host.
 And William of Mortein 5905
 Waited for the king, who was far off.
 He and Retro of Mortaigne,
 These two earls had a right great company.

FROM beyond sea such folk came
 That whoever undertook to name them, 5910
 Unless they were first written down,
 Never would they be numbered.
 All the folk were moved.
 This was seen this year,
 And all came willingly 5915
 To serve the king, who was waiting for the host.
 But when the Angevins knew it,
 And the people of Maine, one morning early
 They went off; they did a very wise thing.
 It was not good to remain, 5920
 And if the king had pursued them
 Doubtless he would have taken the Angevins.
 Never was king so well loved,
 Nor so honoured by his folk.

THE king, when he heard that they had gone, 5925
 Went to Rouen by the great bridge.
 The earl of Maine was there in prison.
 He was willing to give a great ransom.
 But he said that if he had known
 That they would have taken him, 5930
 He would have borne himself otherwise;
 The king should never have taken Le Mans.

5905. William count of Mortaigne.

5928. Elias de la Fleche. *AS. Chr.* 1099. There is an account of his dealings with William Rufus in Beaugendre's *Life of Hildebert*, Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, vol. 171, p. 66.

5930. "Fortuitu," inquit, "me cepisti; sed si possem evadere, novi quid facerem." *W. Malmes.*, iv., 320.

When this was told before the king,
 He had him brought before him.
 With all good humour he asked him 5935
 If he had thus boasted.
 He replied, "Sir, I said it.
 " Much am I loved in this country.
 " There is not under heaven so strong a king,
 " That if he came with force against me, 5940
 " He would not lose, if I knew it,
 " So that I had assembled my people."
 The king, when he heard it, began to laugh.
 In good humour, not in anger,
 He bade him go away, 5945
 Take Le Mans and he [the king] would fight for it.
 And he was glad, and went away.
 All his castles the king gaye back
 To him, in good will,
 And even Le Mans, the strong city. 5950
 And [the earl] sent for his barons,
 He wished to stir up strife.
 But his barons counselled him
 To give up the city to the king,
 And the castles of his country, 5955
 And that he should be his liegeman for ever.
 Earl Elias did this,
 Became his man, did not refuse.
 And if he had not done this
 There would have been a bitter dispute between 5960
 them.
 The king would have taken him by force,
 And slain him by a right ill death.
 The king then had Normandy,
 And all Maine in his power.

5962. Mr. Stevenson translates this line "the king seized him by force
 "and put him to a shameful death," but Helias did not die till 1110.
 AS. Chr.

Through all France the barons
Feared him as a lion.

As far as Poitiers there remained no man
Whom he did not make bow to him.

By his great nobleness,
All his neighbours were subject to him. 5970

And if he could have reigned longer
He would have gone to Rome to claim
The ancient right of that country,
Which Brennus and Belinus had.

THE king, when all was at peace, 5975
Went straight to the sea.

To England he returned,

At Westminster he held his feast.

In his new hall

He held a rich and fair feast. 5980

Many kings, earls and dukes were there.

Three hundred ushers he had at the door.

Each one wore vair or gris,

Or rich cloth from foreign lands.

These conducted the barons 5985

Up the steps, instead of grooms.

With the wands which they held in their hands

They made way for the barons

That no groom approached them,

Unless one of them ordered. 5990

Likewise all came by them,

Who brought the dishes

From the kitchen and the offices,

And the drink and the meat,

These ushers conducted them 5995

On account of the plate which they carried,

5978. William kept Whitsuntide in Westminster Hall both in 1099 and 1100, the former being the first time he held his court there. AS. Chr. 1099, 1100.

That no greedy person might seize it,
Nor spoil nor break it.

Liberal fee had these ushers,

As belonged to their office.

6000

Of great honour were they possessed.

At the court they were well served ;

Each had his livery,

As he ought to have at court.

THE king, among a marvellous company of barons,
Heard mass in his house.

[6005

The kings of Wales were there,

Who ought to bear the swords,

And they wished much to claim

That this was their right office.

6010

But the Normans would not suffer it.

Four earls went before ;

Each held a sword.

Each served as a noble porter.

Earl Hugh was so proud

6015

That he deigned to carry nothing.

For he said he was not a servant.

The king laughed at it, he was so merry.

He asked him to take his golden wand,

And rule equally with him.

6020

The earl replied :—"I will take it,

" As lord I will return it to you,

" I will bear it as long as you will,

" For the great weight which you bear

" Of the mantle, the sceptre, and the crown,

6025

" Of which you are king and owner.

" And for the honour which you have done me,

" I put myself in fealty to you.

" Ever will I be faithful to you,

" But never will I compare myself to you

6030

" By any equality that may be.

" You are chosen and blessed as king,
 " And I am yours, and ought to be,
 " To serve you, I grant it well."
 A while he held the king's wand, 6035
 In great love, in simple manner.
 At the gospel, he gave it back to him.
 The king was much pleased at these words.
 And to his heirs it should be a right,
 And to all the earls of Chester, 6040
 That in such office they should serve
 To help bear the wand.
 The king gave him North Wales.
 He granted it to him to advance his honour.
 And full oft jested 6045
 The king of the earl, to his familiars,
 Of the sword which he threw down,
 And to what good it turned to him.
 And ever were turned to good
 The deeds of the king and his bounty ; 6050
 And ever will be talked of
 The baronage which he gathered.
 And of the earl likewise,
 Ever will folk talk.
 Of them should men example take 6055
 Of rising to-day, of falling to-morrow.
 He who in his life does good,
 Ever are his children more honoured.
 Likewise him who rises easily,
 With the finger men point at his deeds, 6060
 And all say, " See there,
 " He who will never last.
 " May evil ruin seize him.
 " He has risen too high ; he may well fall."
 He is of Nero's lineage, 6065

6059. *aire, eire* is perhaps from *errer* = *marcher, agir*. (Burguy, iii., 601.)

6062. Or " will never give."

And of Judas, the foul felon,
 And of Herod, and of Cain,
 Who does not think that an end will come.
 What he can snatch,
 He takes his pleasure in keeping. 6070
 Ever he thinks he wants money.
 He puts his money to usury.
 He makes usury out of a single penny.
 In a short time will increase
 A single penny into many marks of silver. 6075
 Who thus rises often falls.

LET us leave this, and speak of the king.
 He held his feast like a baron.
 But I have no leisure to relate all
 The great riches he displayed; 6080
 Nor the great gifts he gave.
 Many a nobleman he knighted there.
 With Giffard the Poitevin alone,
 Who, in the illegitimate line, was his kinsman,
 He knighted thirty youths. 6085
 He (Giffard) had cut their locks,
 All had their hair cut,
 For their lord was wroth
 Because he tarried there a month
 Before the king gave them arms. 6090
 He had himself and his men shorn.
 With shorn locks they went to court.
 These were the first youths
 Who had their locks cut.
 The king laughed and mocked at it. 6095

6084. Stevenson translates *Barbastre*, "the man with the beard." I am inclined to think it must have something to do with *bastre*, illegitimate, referring to Walter Giffard's affinity with William. Giffard was son of Osbern de Bolebec and Avelina, sister of Gunnora, mistress, afterwards wife, of Richard I., duke of Normandy. Gunnora was William Rufus' great-great-grandmother. Wm. of Jumieges, lib. VIII., cap. 37.

He took it as a courtesy.
 And when the king took it well,
 Some of his youths who had come there
 Were shorn also.
 Then was in court a cropping. 6100
 More than three hundred had their hair cropped,
 Never did they leave it off after in court.
 The second month that Giffard came
 The king held this feast.
 So richly he knighted them 6105
 That for ever it will be spoken of.
 For these and others he did so much
 That all London shone.
 What shall I say of this feast?
 So rich it was, it could not be more so. 6110

WHEN the king had held his court
 The news arrived
 That Malcolm was slain,
 The king, who was his enemy.
 Robert de Munbrai had killed 6115
 This king, whether it was right or wrong.
 At Alnwick was the battle.
 Three thousand men in all by tale
 Were slain there with Malcolm ;
 And on both sides many a good baron. 6120
 It was Geoffrey de Gulevent,
 He and Morel, his kinsman,
 Who took the life of Malcolm.
 When the news was heard
 The king sent for the earl 6125
 To come to court, he will hear his words.

6113. AS. Chr. 1093.

6115. Robert de Mowbray was earl of Northumberland 1090-1095.

6121. Morel of Bamborough, the earl's steward and kinsman (Ord. Vit. Le Prevost's Ed. III. 397), and Malcolm's gossip is mentioned in the AS. Chr. and elsewhere, but not Geoffrey de Gulevent.

And according to what he would hear,
He would be well rewarded for doing right.

THE earl, he of Mowbray, Robert,
Was accused by a traitor. 6130
His man he was, he had brought him up.
He had told this to the king.
This had told the wicked felon.
The earl was arraigned of the treason.
One of these traitors was he 6135
Who wished to kill the king,
With the same treason
Which the barons proposed,
For which Waltheof was put to death.
Black William of Eu broke his trust. 6140
Geffrai Baignard challenged him for it.
He vanquished William of Eu.
There were so many appellants
That the earl of Northumberland
Would not go thither at this time. 6145
At a castle on the sea,
Which was called Bamborough,
There he went in.
The king with his host went thither.
The new castle then he built. 6150
Then he took Morpeth, a strong castle,
Which stood on a hill.
Above Wansbeck it stood.
William de Morlei held it.
And when he [the king] had taken this castle 6155
He advanced into the country.
At Bamborough upon the sea

6129. According to the AS. Chr. king William's displeasure with the earl of Northumberland was owing to his refusal to come to court at Easter and Whitsuntide 1095. Florence, II. 38, and Simeon of Durham, II. 225, speak of the conspiracy between him and William count of Eu.

6141. AS. Chr. 1096, after the capture of Robert Mowbray.

He made all his host stay.
 Robert de Moubray was there,
 He whom the king wished to take. 6160
 The king tarried there a great while,
 And many assaults he endured there.
 But the castle had scant victuals.
 When the earl saw that they failed,
 Towards the sea by the postern 6165
 He came to the ship, which one man steered.
 In he entered with few folk.
 He put to sea, he had a right good wind.
 To Tynemouth he went.
 Then he thought he had quite escaped. 6170
 But early in the morning it was told the king,
 Who turned the matter quite otherwise.
 He contrived so that he took him.
 He did not put him to death nor kill him,
 But he was in prison for twenty years. 6175
 In the prison he ended, dying.
 A good man he became before he died.
 He never saw again anything that he had.
 Now had the king put all at peace,
 Before this host repaired 6180
 Towards the kingdom of Scotland.
 King Eadgar was one of his friends.
 From him he had received his kingdom,
 In free service, without tribute.
 And the king granted him freely, 6185

6164. This account omits the attempt to take the New Castle.

6172. The king does not appear to have been at Bamborough in person at the earl's capture. The words of the AS. Chr. "Ða þa se cyng "ongean com" may have led Gaimar to suppose the king returned to Northumberland, but it possibly means only returned from his Welsh expedition.

6182. Eadgar was son of the late king Malcolm and Margaret, and was set upon the throne of Scotland by Eadgar Ætheling, with the support of king William. AS. Chr. 1097.

That when he came towards his court,
He should have sixty shillings a day ;
That he might be served with great honour,
Besides presents and other gifts.
This was his proper livery, 6190
From the time he left his kingdom
Till he returned again.
So much he had in his visits
In proof that the king was his lord.
Everywhere went his dominion, 6195
In England and in Normandy ;
And his heirs have likewise
This heritage in possession,
So had they all their time.
Never was king more feared 6200
Than was this king by his neighbours.
All he made obedient to him.
King and duke was this lord,
Who led this joyous life.
Also he was duke of Normandy, 6205
Of which earl Robert had none.
He had gone to Jerusalem.
He had given it to the king to hold.
From that time he held it while he lived.
Henry his brother ruled it. 6210
BUT when he had reigned some time,
And well established peace,
And held such justice and right,
That no one lost anything by wrong,
And no free man was put out 6215
Or injured in his kingdom ;
For by his just rule
He had made commandment
That those who held by free tenure,
If they refused their house 6220
To any free man born,
They should be quite disinherited.

And meat and lodging.
 Should be open to free men.
 All the free men who had need 6225
 Could procure this.
 On the other hand he had set
 His justices about his land,
 His foresters in his forests,
 That never dog nor archer should enter there. 6230
 And if an archer entered there,
 If he was taken, he was evil entreated.
 And the dogs lost their feet,
 Never were any spared.
 To keep the forests for the king 6235
 They expeditated them.
 Then you might see in the thickets
 Harts, roebucks, bucks, and wild boars.
 Hares, foxes, and other deer
 Were in such plenty in these wastes 6240
 That no man alone could count the thousands
 For all the gold that is in Rome.
 The king loved these sports much.
 He never tired night or day,
 All day he was joyous and made merry. 6245
 A red beard he had and fair hair.
 Therefore I tell and say wherefore
 He had the surname of the Red King.
 THIS noble king, with great splendour,
 Held his kingdom in honour. 6250
 In the thirteenth year that he reigned thus
 Then it befell, as it pleased God,
 The king went to hunt
 Towards Brockenhurst, to shoot.
 This is in the New Forest, 6255
 A place which is named Brockenhurst.

6236. There is no doubt what *espeleter* means here, though I have not met this form of the word before.

Privately he went.	
Walter Tirel he took with him.	
Walter was a rich man.	
In France he was a lord of the country.	6260
Poix was his, a strong castle.	
He had enough at his pleasure ;	
He had come to serve the king,	
To get gifts and wages.	
With great kindness he was received.	6265
Much was he cherished by the king,	
Because he was a foreigner,	
The noble king cherished him.	
Together the two went talking,	
Diverting themselves with many things,	6270
Until Walter began to jest,	
And craftily to talk to the king.	
He asked him, laughing,	
Why he tarried so long.	
“ King, since you are so powerful,	6275
“ Why do you not increase your worth ?	
“ Already you have no neighbour near	
“ Who against you dares raise his hand.	
“ For if you choose to go against him,	
“ You could lead all the others.	6280
“ All are your men, subject to you,	
“ Bretons, men of Maine and Anjou,	
“ And the Flemings hold of you.	
“ The men of Burgundy have you for king,	
“ And Eustace, he of Boulogne,	6285
“ You can well lead at your need.	
“ Alan the Black of Brittany,	
“ You can well lead in your company.	
“ You have so many allies and so much folk,	
“ I marvel much that you wait so long	6290

6287. Alanus Niger was brother of the previous Alan according to the pedigree in Faustina, B. vii., f. 72. See v. 5322.

" Before you make war somewhere,

" And conquer beyond your land."

The king replied briefly:

" As far as the mountains I will lead my men,

" Then I will go to the west, 6295

" At Poitiers I will hold my feast.

" At this Christmas which is coming,

" If I live so long, my seat shall be there."

" That is a great thing," said Walter,

" To go to the mountains, then return 6300

" And hold the feast at Poitiers.

" An ill death may they die,

" The Burgundians and the French,

" If they are ever subject to the English."

The king had said it in joke, 6305

And he (Tirel) was false, and devised many things.

In his heart he kept the felony.

He thought within himself of a plot,

If he could ever see it,

The end should be quite otherwise. 6310

In the forest was the king,

In the thicket, near a marsh.

He wanted to shoot at a stag

Which he saw pass in a herd.

Near a tree he dismounted. 6315

He bent his bow himself.

On all sides the barons dismounted.

The others surrounded the place.

Walter Tirel dismounted

Very near the king, close to an elder, 6320

Against an aspen he leaned.

As the herd passed,

And the great hart came in the midst,

He drew the bow which he held in his hand,

A barbed arrow 6325

Death of
William
the Red.

He shot, by an evil fate.
 Now it befel that he missed the hart,
 And to the heart he struck the king.
 An arrow went to his heart.
 But we know not who drew the bow; 6330
 But this said the other archers,
 That it came from Walter's bow.
 It appeared so, for he fled straightway.
 He escaped, the king fell.
 Four times he cried out. 6335
 He asked for the sacrament,
 But there was no one to give it him.
 Far from any minster was he, in a waste;
 But yet a hunter
 Took some herbs with all their flower, 6340
 He made the king eat a little;
 Thus he thought to communicate him.
 He was in God, and ought to be.
 He had taken consecrated bread
 The Sunday before. 6345
 This should be a good warrant for him.

THEN it befel that the king died.
 Of his barons there were three with him
 Who had dismounted with him.
 Two were sons of Richard, 6350
 Earl Gilbert and Lord Roger.
 They were tried knights.
 And Gilbert of Laigle was with them.
 They tore their hair,
 And made moan without stint. 6355
 Never was there such grief shown.
 Robert Fitz Hamon came there,
 Rich, gentle and a noble baron,

6350. Gilbert of Tunbridge, son of Richard FitzGilbert, earl of Clare. Roger is probably a mistake for Robert, as Roger was settled in Normandy, and probably not in England at the time. Dugdale's Baronage, I., 207, 208.

He made such moan, so much he loved him,
 And often said :—" Who will kill me ? 6360
 " Rather would I die than live longer."
 Then he fainted and fell down.
 When he came to himself, he wrung his hands.
 So feeble and weak he became
 That he nearly fell again. 6365
 On all sides he heard great mourning.
 The grooms and the hunters
 Wept and grieved.
 Gilbert of Laigle said:
 " Be silent, sirs, for Jesus Christ. 6370
 " Let be this grief.
 " It can bring nothing back.
 " Even if for ever we weep thus
 " Never shall we have such a lord.
 " Whoever loved him, let him appear 6375
 " And help me to make a bier."
 Then you might have seen grooms dismounting,
 And huntsmen taking their axes.
 Soon were cut stakes,
 Of which they made the bars. 6380
 Two branches they found cut down ;
 They were light and well dried.
 They were not too thick, but they were long.
 All by measure they prepared them.
 With their belts and baldrics 6385
 They tied tight the bars.
 Then they made a bed upon the bier
 Of fair flowers and fern.
 Two palfreys they brought
 With rich bridles, well saddled. 6390
 On these two they laid the bier.
 It was not heavy, but light.

6380. *Meinel* may be a form of *meneau*, which now means a mullion.

Then they spread a cloak,
 Which was of new cloth. 6395
 Fitz Hamon unfolded it,
 Robert who loved his lord.
 They lay the king upon the bier,
 Which the palfreys carried.
 He was buried in a cloak (?)
 In which William de Munfichet 6400
 The day before had been knighted.
 It had only been one day worn,
 The grey cloak, which he took off.
 Above the bier he spread it.

THEN might you see barons on foot 6405
 Go weeping and sad.
 They would not ride
 Because of their lord whom they held so dear.
 And the grooms went after
 Weeping, and much they bewailed themselves. 6410
 The hunters all together
 Said "Wretched, miserable,
 "What shall we do? What will become of us?
 "Never shall we have such a lord."
 Till Winchester they did not stop. 6415
 There they placed the king
 Within the minster of St. Swithun.
 There the barons assembled,
 With the clergy of the city,
 And the bishop and the abbot. 6420
 The good bishop Walkelin
 Watched the king till morning;
 With him monks, clerks, and abbots.
 Well was he served and sung for.

6399. *tiretaine* is a species of cloth. Roquefort, Littré.

6421. Walkelin had died on January 3, 1098.

Next day was such a dole 6425
 As never man saw in his life;
 Nor so many masses, nor such service
 Will be done, till God come to judgment,
 For one king alone, as they did for him.
 Quite otherwise they buried him 6430
 Than the barons had done
 Where Walter shot him.
 Let him who does not believe it go to Win-
 chester,
 There he will hear if this can be true.

HERE will I end about the king. 6435
 This history caused to be translated
 The gentle lady Custance;
 Gaimar employed on it, March and April,
 And all the twelve months,
 Before he had translated about the kings. 6440
 He procured many copies,
 English books and books on grammar,
 Both in French and in Latin,
 Before he could come to the end.
 If his lady had not helped him 6445
 Never by any day could he have finished it.
 She sent to Helmsley
 For the book of Walter Espec.
 Robert, the earl of Gloucester,
 Had this history translated 6450
 According to the books of the Welsh
 Which he had, about British kings.
 Walter Espec asked for it.
 Earl Robert sent it to him.
 Then Walter Espec lent it 6455
 To Ralph Fitz Gilbert.
 Dame Custance borrowed it
 Of her lord, whom she loved much.

Geoffrey Gaimar wrote this book.
 He translated them, put in deeds 6460
 Which the Welsh had left out.
 For he had already obtained,
 Whether right or wrong,
 The good book of Oxford,
 Which belonged to Walter the archdeacon. 6465
 Thus he corrected his book well.
 And from the history of Winchester
 Was corrected this history,
 [And] from an English book of Washingborough,
 Wherein he found written of the kings, 6470
 And of all the emperors,
 Who were lords of Rome,
 And had tribute of England ;
 Of the kings who held of them,
 Of their lives, and of their treaties, 6475
 Of their adventures, and of their deeds,
 How each held the land ;
 Who loved peace and who war.
 Of all the most can be found here
 By him who will look in this book. 6480
 And he who does not believe what I say
 Let him ask Nicholas de Trailli.

Now, says Gaimar, if he had warrant,
 He would go on to tell of king Henry ;
 Of whom, if he chose to speak a little, 6485
 And translate about his life,
 He could tell a thousand things of him,
 Which Davit never wrote,
 Nor the queen of Louvain
 Never held the book of it in her hand. 6490

6489. Adelaide of Louvain married Henry I., 1121, and Wm. de Albini, earl of Arundel. She died 1151. (Wright, p. 227.)

She caused a great book to be made of it,
The first verse noted for singing.
Well spoke Davit and well he composed,
And well he arranged the music.
Dame Custance had a copy of it. 6495
She often read it in her chamber.
And for the copy she gave
A mark of silver burnt and weighed.
In many places is narrated
In the book, what was done. 6500
But of the feasts which the king held,
Of the woods, of the jokes,
Of the gallantry, and of the love
Which the best king showed,
Who ever was or ever will be, 6505
And he was a Christian and blessed,
Davit's writing says little.
Now, says Gaimar, he passes it over.
But if he would take more trouble
He could compose verses about the fairest deeds; 6510
That is about love and gallantry,
And woodland sports and jokes,
And of feasts and splendour,
Of largesses and riches,
And of the barons whom he led, 6515
Of the great gifts he gave :
Of this a man might well sing,
Omitting and passing over nothing.
Now tell Davit, if it please him,
To say on, not to leave off. 6520
For if he will go on writing
He may much amend his book.
And if he will not listen to this,
I will go for him, I will have him taken ;
He shall never come out of my prison 6525
Till the song is finished.

Now we have peace and live merrily.
Formerly Gaimar spoke of Troy,
He began there where Jason
Went to fetch the Fleece.
Thus he finishes right here.
May God bless us. Amen.

6530

The epilogue is MSS. D., and L. is as follows:—

Here will I now finish my history.
 Of King Henry I will give no account,
 For Adela, the good queen,
 To whom God give grace divine,
 Has dealt thereof in a great book. 5
 Therefore mine finishes thus.
 The History of the English ends here.
 May Jesus Christ bless all those
 Who give ear thereto
 And repeat it to others. 10
 Those who know it not, nor have heard it,
 The God of Heaven bless them all.
 For men ought to study such a thing
 Where there is nothing to blame,
 Neither villainies nor falsehoods. 15
 This book is not a fable nor a dream.
 But it is drawn out of the true history
 Of the ancient kings, and their deeds,
 Who governed England,
 Some in peace and some in war. 20
 Thus it happened, it could no other be.
 May God the King of Heaven bless you.

WHEN Hengist and the Saxons
 Had wrought their treachery,
 And had seized the cities, 25
 The castles and the strongholds,
 And had driven out the Britons,
 They quartered themselves in their land.

They divided the land in seven,
And seven kings settled there. 30
To the kingdoms they gave names,
To each according to their will.
Kent they called the first.
This Hengist held in his hand.
The country was very fertile. 35
There were two cities of note,
Canterbury, the archbishopric,
And Rochester, the bishopric.

THE second they called Sussex.
At Chichester was the king's seat. 40
Wessex they called the third.
Therein were many cities.
Wilton was the chief.
The king held it in demesne,
Where is now a great abbey. 45
Nuns have it in their keeping.
And the city of Winchester,
Where now is a rich bishopric,
And the bishopric of Salisbury,
With the city of Amesbury. 50
The fourth is called Essex,
Which did not last long.
For it was poor beyond measure,
Therefore it lasted but a short time.
East Anglia is the fifth named, 55
Made out of two countries.
Therein is Norfolk,
And the land of Suffolk.
As learned folk tell us,
The sixth was made by the Mercians. 60
Many cities are there,
Towns, castles, and rich boroughs.
This realm was rich,
And many cities were therein.

For Dorchester belonged to it, 65
And Lincoln, and Leicester.

THE seventh was full rich,
For York belonged thereto,
And all as far as Caithness.
More had this [king] alone than the six kings. 70
He had under him Northumberland,
And the land of Cumberland,
And the earldom of Lothian.
And this king was king of Scotland.

In the end a powerful king, 75
Who was right valiant in arms,
By force conquered the six kings.
To his use he took their honours.
He was king of Wessex.

He gave new laws to the land. 80
By his prowess he conquered them all,
And made them his subjects.

As soon as he held the kingdom,
He divided it into thirty-five.
To each he gave its name. 85

In English he called them shires;
But we who speak Romance,
Name them in another fashion.

What is named *shire* in English,
Is named *county* in French. 90

I will tell them all by name.
For I know how to name them all.
Kent is the first and chief.

There is the archbishopric
In the city Dorobellum, 95
Which is called Canterbury.

And there is a bishopric
In the city of Rochester.

The second county is called Sussex;
It is adorned with a bishopric. 100

Chichester is the capital of the county.

There is the bishop's see.
The third county is Surrey,
And the fourth Hampshire.
There is a bishopric 105
Within the city of Winchester.
The fifth they call Berkshire,
And the sixth Wiltshire,
Wherein is a bishopric.
At Salisbury is the see. 110
The seventh is Dorset.
And the eighth Somerset.
In Bath is the bishopric,
Of which the see was then at Wells.
This Bath had erst another name, 115
As the Saxons say,
Who first settled there ;
Achemannestrate they called it.
Devonshire the ninth is named.
It is a land very rich and good. 120
There is a rich bishopric.
At Exeter is the see.
The tenth is Cornwall.
The men are valiant in battle.
Corineus settled it; 125
He who drove out the giants.
They call the eleventh Essex,
And the twelfth Middlesex.
The bishopric is at London,
Which is an ancient city. 130
Suffolk is the thirteenth,
Norfolk the fourteenth.
Now the bishopric is in Norwich.
Then the see was at Thetford.
The county of Cambridge 135
Is counted the fifteenth.
The bishopric is at Ely.
In a marsh stands the city.

Those who dwell there, in great plenty, Have oftentimes good fish, And fowl and venison, Within the marsh they take. The sixteenth is far renowned. Lincoln is that county. Very rich is the bishopric. Eight counties belong to it. Lincoln and Northampton, Hertford and Huntingdon, Leicester and Bedford, Buckingham and Oxford. Right rich is the bishopric. Two waters encompass it, Humber they call the lesser, Thames the greater is named. The twenty-fourth is Gloucester. The twenty-fifth is Worcester. The bishopric of Worcester Is much honoured in this country. The twenty-sixth is Hereford, Which is the stronger for the bishopric. For they are much feared Who dwell within the city. The twenty-seventh Shropshire. The twenty-eighth Cheshire. Within the city of Chester There is a fair bishopric. Warwick is the twenty-ninth. And Stamford the thirtieth, which is near. Derby the thirty-first, With the country all around. The county of Nottingham Is counted the thirty-second. York is the thirty-third. It is the capital, towards the North. It is a city of antiquity.	140 145 150 155 160 165 170 175
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	There is the archbishopric. It is the best in England. Much honour belongs to it. The length is from Totness As far as Caithness,	180
	As perfectly describes it to us Belinus who had it measured. The county of Northumberland Is counted for the thirty-fourth. And there are all situated	185
	The bishopric of Durham, The land of Cumberland, With all Westmoreland. In the last they have appointed	
Carlisle.	There newly a bishopric.	190
	Thus as I have shown you, In England there are reckoned Only two archbishoprics, And fifteen bishoprics. There are many cities	195
	Where there is no bishopric, As Oxford, as Leicester, As Warwick, as Gloucester I could name many, But I will not take more trouble.	200
	BUT I will speak of the Welsh. I will tell of the people there. In Wales there are many cities, Which were highly renowned, As Caerwent and Caerleon,	205
	And the city of Snowdon. And there are five bishoprics, And a master archbishopric.	

190. Illa regio in qua est novus episcopatus Carlhil. (Hen. Hunt., 10.)

The bishopric of Carlisle was founded in 1133. (Hen. Hunt., 253.)

Of these there are none left
 But three, of which I will tell you the sees. 210
 One is at St. David's,
 Which before was at Caerleon.
 This was once the archbishopric,
 Now it is a poor bishopric.
 The other is settled at Bangor. 215
 Glamorgan is the third.
 They are not in any city,
 In consequence of war they are deserted.
 But still we know well
 That the bishop has the pallium 220
 Of St. David, as he claimed it.
 We know well he went to Rome.
 Now there is no city left,
 For all the country is destroyed,
 First by the Saxons, 225
 Then by the war of the Britons ;
 On the other side, since the French
 Have defeated the English
 And conquered the land
 By fire, by famine, and by war, 230
 They have passed the water of Severn,
 And waged war on the Welsh,
 And spied out the land.
 They conquered much of the land,
 And set very grievous laws on it ; 235
 For they drove out the Welsh,
 They settled in the land ;
 They built many castles there,
 Which are right good and fair.
 But natheless often times 240
 Well have the Welsh avenged themselves,
 Many of our French have they slain,
 Some of our castles they have taken ;

Openly they go about saying,
 Fiercely they threaten us, 245
 That in the end they will have all;
 By means of Arthur they will win it back;
 And this land all together
 They will take from the Latin folk,
 They will give back its name to the land, 250
 They will call it Britain again.

Now we will hold our peace about the Welsh,
 And speak of the roads
 Which were made in this country.
 King Belinus had them made. 255
 The first goes from the east
 Until it comes to the west.
 It crosses the country.
 Ikenild the road is called.
 The second, according to the Saxons, 260
 Ermingestreet still we call it.
 This road is well known.
 From the north it goes straight to the south.
 The third is far famed.
 Watlingstreet it is called. 265
 At Dover this road begins.
 Right at Chester it ends.
 It takes the length of the land.
 The fourth is very wearisome.
 This road is called Foss. 270
 It goes through many cities.
 It begins at Totness,
 And goes as far as Caithness.
 Seven hundred leagues is it reckoned.
 This road is far famed. 275
 Belinus who had them made

274. This length is not mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon. The two other MSS. read, "eight hundred" and "five hundred."

Placed them in great freedom.
Whoever was outlawed
Should have his peace on these roads.
We have described to you the counties 280
Of the land, and the bishoprics,
And the names of the four roads.
Now thus will we leave it.
Here ends the history of the English.

277. This refers to the "pax quam habent quatuor Chimini," according to the Laws of Edward the Confessor. *Ancient Laws*, p. 192.

THE LAY OF HAVELOC THE DANE.

Willingly should one hear,
And repeat, and retain
The noble deeds of the ancients,
And their prowess and their good deeds,
To take examples and to remember, 5
For free men to redress
Villainies and misdeeds.
Such should be the discourse
By which men ought to be corrected ;
For many have bad need of it. 10
Let each one take as for himself,
The adventure of a great king,
And of many other barons,
Of whom I will give you the names.
Shortly enough I will tell you. 15
I will relate you the adventure.
Haveloc was this king named,
And Cuaran is he called.
Therefore, I mean to tell you of him,
And recal his adventures, 20
Of which the Bretons made a lay.
They called it from his name
Both Haveloc and Cuaran.
Of his father I will tell first.
Gunter was his name, he was a Dane. 25
He held the land, he was king.
At the time that Arthur reigned,
He crossed the sea towards Denmark.
He would make the land submit to him,
And have tribute of the king. 30
With king Gunter he fought,
And with the Danes, and conquered.

The king himself was killed,
And many others of the country.
Hodulf slew him by treason, 35
Who always had a felon heart.
When Arthur had ended his war
Hodulf gave him all the land,
And the homage of his barons.
Then he departed with his Britons; 40
Some by constraint, some by fear,
Most of them served Hodulf.
Some there were who sought his ruin
By the advice of Sigar the Stallere,
Who was a good and rich man, 45
And well knew how to war.
He had the horn to keep
Which no one could sound
Unless he were right heir of the lineage,
Which was over the Danes by inheritance. 50
Before king Arthur came,
Or had fought with the Danes,
Gunter had his castle
On the sea shore, strong and fair.
With food it was well supplied. 55
Within he placed his wife and son.
To a baron of the country
He entrusted the care of them.
Grim was his name, much he trusted him,
Loyally he had always served him. 60
Above everything he commended to him
His son, whom he dearly loved,
That if ill befel him,
If he died in battle,
That he should protect him to his power, 65
And send him out of the country,
So that he should neither be taken nor found
Nor given up to his enemies.
The child was not very big:

He was no more than seven years old. 70
All the time he slept
A flame issued from him.
It came out of his mouth,
Such great heat he had in his body.
The flame gave out such an odour, 75
No man ever smelt anything better.
They held it as a great wonder,
Those of the country who saw it.
After king Gunter was dead,
And his barons and his strength, 80
Hodulf came down and drove away
All those whom he knew that he loved.
The queen had great fear,
And the good men who protected her,
Lest he should take the castle from them, 85
And kill the king's son.
They had no strength to defend themselves.
They had to take other counsel.
Grim had ships prepared,
And well laden with victuals. 90
Forth from the country he meant to flee,
To preserve the right heir from death.
He would take the queen with him,
For fear of the felon king
Who had killed his lord ; 95
He would soon bring dishonour on her.
When his ship was equipped,
He caused his company to enter,
His knights and his soldiers,
His own wife and his children. 100
He put the queen in the ship,
He carried Haveloc under his cloak.
He himself went on board last.
He entrusted himself to the God of Heaven.
They weighed anchor from the harbour, 105
For they had a good wind.

They went across the sea,
For they did not know where to go
Where they could save their lord.
Ill befel them the day, 110
For they met outlaws
Who loudly challenged them.
Right stoutly they attacked them;
And the others valiantly defended themselves.
[They plundered and spoiled the ship,
And the queen was killed there.]
But they had little strength, 115
The outlaws slew them all.
None escaped, small or great,
Except Grim, who was known to them,
His wife and his small children,
And Haveloc also was saved there. 120
When these had escaped from them,
They floated and sailed
Until they came to a harbour,
And landed from the ship.
This was in the North, at Grimsby. 125
At the time I tell you of.
There was no man dwelt there,
Nor was this harbour frequented.
He set up the first house there.
From him it was called Grimsby. 130
When Grim first arrived,
He cut his ship in two halves.
The ends he set upright;
Within he lodged.
He went to fish as he was wont. 135
Salt he sold and bought
Till he was well known there,
And well acquainted with the peasants.
Many joined themselves to him.
By the haven they dwelt; 140
Because of his name, which they had heard,

They called the place Grimsby.
 The good man reared his lord,
 And his wife served him.
 They all took him for his child, 145
 For nothing else they knew.
 Grim had made him change his name,
 So that therefore no one knew him.
 The child grew and improved.
 He waxed strong in body and limbs. 150
 Before he had much age
 There was no bearded man found
 Who would wrestle with him
 But the lad would overthrow him.
 He was very strong and brave, 155
 And enterprising and wrathful.
 Marvellously rejoiced at him
 Grim, the good man, who reared him.
 But for this his heart was grieved
 That he had not brought him up amongst such 160
 people
 Where he could sometimes hear
 Instruction and learn sense.
 For he thought in his heart
 That yet he should have his inheritance.
 Grim called him one day to himself. 165
 "Fair son," said he, "hearken to me.
 "Here we live very quietly,
 "With fishers, with poor folk,
 "Who keep themselves by fishing.
 "You are not meet for this trade, 170
 "Here you can learn no good,
 "You will never gain anything.
 "Go, fair son, into England,
 "To learn wisdom and seek gain.
 "Take your brothers with you. 175
 "In the court of a great king
 "Place yourself, fair son, under the servants.

" You are strong, well grown, and tall,
 " So you can carry great burdens.
 " Make yourself loved by all men, 180
 " Then give up service
 " When you can find an opportunity;
 " And God grant that you succeed,
 " So that you may gain something there."
 When the good man had thus advised him, 185
 And well supplied him with raiment,
 He sent him away reluctantly.
 The two lads he took with him.
 All three thought they were brothers,
 As their father had told them. 190
 So long they held the straight road
 Until they came to Lincoln.
 At this time that I tell you of
 A king who was named Alsi
 Held the land in his rule. 195
 Lincoln and all Lindsey,
 This way towards the North ;
 And Rutland and Stamford,
 Had this Alsi in his inheritance.
 But he was a Briton by race. 200
 The kingdom towards Surrey (?)
 Another king governed.
 Ekenbright was this king's name.
 Many a noble baron he had.
 He had Alsi's sister [to wife], 205
 (They were companions and friends),
 Orewen, a worthy lady.
 But between them they had no child,
 Except one fair daughter.
 Argentille was the maiden's name. 210
 King Ekenbright was ill,
 And much troubled by a sore disease.
 Well he knew he could not be healed.
 He caused Alsi to come to him.

He intrusted to him his daughter, 215
And delivered to him all his land.
First he made him swear,
His folk seeing it, and promise
That he would bring her up loyally,
And keep her land for her, 220
Until she was of such age
That she could bear marriage.
When the maid should be grown up,
By the counsel of his tenants,
He should give her to the strongest man 225
Whom he found in the kingdom ;
That he should deliver to him his cities,
His castles and his strongholds,
His niece and his sister in keeping.
And all the men of the honour. 230
But the queen fell sick,
When king Ekenbright died,
Speedily she died also.
Near her lord she was buried.

ABOUT them it is time to stop here. 235
I will go on to tell of Haveloc.
King Alsi, who then reigned,
And governed the two kingdoms,
Held a fair court, and many folk.
At Lincoln he often dwelled. 240
This Haveloc came to his court,
And as a cook the king retained him,
Because he saw him strong and tall,
And saw that he was of right good countenance.
Wonderful loads could he lift, 245
Cut wood, carry water.
He took the dishes
And washed them after meals ;
And whatever he could get,
Piece of meat or whole loaf 250
Very willingly he gave it

To the grooms and to the squires.
 So free he was and good natured
 That he wished to do pleasure to all.
 For the liberality that he had 255
 Among them they took him for a fool.
 They made sport of him.
 Cuaran they all called him.
 For thus call the Britons
 A cook in their language. 260
 Often they brought him forth,
 The knights and the soldiers,
 For the strength that was in him.
 When they knew his great strength,
 They made him wrestle before them 265
 With the strongest men they knew,
 And he threw them all.
 And if any of them said him ill,
 By sheer strength he tied him up.
 So long he held him and punished him, 270
 Till he had pardoned him all,
 And they were reconciled.
 The king greatly marvelled
 At the strength he saw in him.
 Ten of the strongest of his house 275
 Had no power to resist him.
 Twelve men could not lift
 The burdens that he could carry.
 He was a long time at the court,
 Until there was an assembly, 280
 When the barons came to the court,
 Who held their land of Ekenbright;
 And now they held of Argentille,
 The child, who was his daughter,
 Who now was grown up and tall, 285

273. The king even very often
 Made him wrestle before his folk.
 He held him as a great wonder
 For the strength that was in him. P.

And could well bear children.
 They represented to the king,
 And required of him, for his niece,
 That he should marry her to such a man
 As would uphold and advise her, 290
 And that he would thus keep his oath,
 That he would acquit himself thereof loyally.
 THE king heard what these said,
 And the request they made.
 He asked them for a respite, 295
 And said he would consult about it.
 He wished to know and inquire
 To whom he could give her.
 He gave them a time and named a day.
 He bade them return 300
 When he should have taken counsel;
 And he was very crafty.
 He spoke of it to his familiars,
 And showed them all his heart.
 He sought and asked their advice 305
 About those who now demanded
 That he should give a lord to his niece
 Who would maintain her honourably;
 But he would rather bear their war
 Than be dispossessed of the land. 310
 Thus said his counsellors :
 " Cause her to be sent far off
 " Into Brittany, beyond the sea,
 " And entrusted to your kinsfolk.
 " Let her be nun in an abbey, 315
 " And serve God all her life."
 " Lords, I have thought of it all.
 " Quite otherwise I will free myself.
 " King Ekenbright, when he died,
 " And entrusted to me his daughter, 320
 " Made me swear an oath,
 " You all seeing, and promise
 " That I would give her to the strongest man

- " That I should find in the land.
 " Loyally can I acquit myself ; 325
 " To Cuaran I will give her,
 " To him who is in my kitchen.
 " She shall be queen of kettles.
 " When the lords return
 " And make their request, 330
 " In the hearing of all I will show them
 " That I will give her to my cook,
 " Who is strong and of great courage.
 " They know it who have seen him.
 " If there is any who gainsays it, 335
 " Or who charges me with villany,
 " I will put him in my prison,
 " And will give her to the cook."
 THUS had the king devised.
 On the day that he named to them 340
 He prepared of his household
 Seven score armed men in his chamber ;
 For he thought to have a riot
 When she should be married.
 The barons came to the court, 345
 The king showed them his intent.
 " Lords," said he, " now listen to me,
 " Now that you are assembled.
 " A request you made to me
 " The other day, when you came to me, 350
 " That I should give my niece a husband,
 " And yield him her land.
 " You know well, and I tell you,
 " When king Ekenbright died,
 " He put his daughter into my keeping, 355
 " And made me swear an oath
 " That I would give her to the strongest man
 " That I could find in the kingdom.
 " Enough have I sought and asked,
 " Until I have found a strong man. 360

“ I have a groom in my kitchen,
“ To whom I shall give the girl.
“ Cuaran is his name.
“ The ten strongest of my house
“ Cannot stand up to him, 365
“ Nor endure his play nor his wrestling.
“ Truth it is, from here to Rome,
“ There is no man with such a chest.
“ So will I keep my oath,
“ Nor can I give her otherwise.” 370
 WHEN the barons had heard
That he had said his will,
Among each other they said openly,
That this should never be suffered by them.
There would have been great blows given, 375
When he sent for his armed men.
He had his niece brought to them
And married to Cuaran.
To disgrace and shame her
He made her lie with him at night. 380
When they both were abed
She had great shame of him,
And he as great of her.
He lay on his face, he fell asleep.
He did not wish her to see 385
The flame which came from him;
But afterwards they so assured each other
By word and by liking,
That he loved her, and lay with her
As a man ought to do with his wife. 390
The night that first he spoke
Such joy he had that he loved her,
That he fell asleep and forgot.
He lay towards her, and took no heed ;
And the girl fell asleep, 395
She threw her arm over her lover.
It appeared to her in a dream

That she had come to her lord
 Beyond the sea in a thicket.
 There they found a wild bear; 400
 He had foxes in his company,
 All the field was covered.
 They tried to attack Cuaran,
 When on the other side they saw come
 Hounds and wild boars, who defended him, 405
 And killed many of the foxes.
 When the foxes were conquered,
 One of the boars with great boldness
 Went towards the bear and attacked him.
 There he killed and overthrew him. 410
 The foxes who held with him
 Came together towards Cuaran.
 They laid on the earth before him,
 They seemed to beg for mercy.
 And Cuaran had them bound. 415
 Then he went towards the sea.
 But the trees which were in the wood
 On all sides bowed to him.
 The sea swelled and the waves rose
 Up to him. He had great fear. 420
 He saw two lions of great fierceness.
 They came against him terribly.
 They devoured the beasts of the wood
 Which they found in their way.
 Cuaran was in great fear, 425
 More for his love than for himself.
 They climbed upon a high tree
 On account of the lions which they feared.
 But the lions came on,
 They knelt under the tree. 430
 They made a show of love to him,

405. P. reads *porcs* instead of *chiens*, which is perhaps correct, as hounds and boars would hardly act in concert even in a dream.

And that they took him for their lord.
Throughout the wood there was such a great cry
That Argentille awoke.
She had great fear on account of the dream. 435
Then she had more for her lord
On account of the flame which she saw
Which came from his mouth.
She rose up and cried
So loud that she woke him. 440
"Sir," said she, "you burn,
" Alas, you are all on fire."
He embraced her and drew her towards him,
" Fair love," he said, " wherefore
" Are you so frightened ? 445
" Who has thus terrified you ?"
" Sir," said she, " I was dreaming,
" I will tell you the vision."
She related and told it to him.
She told him of the fire which she had seen 450
Which came forth from his mouth.
She thought that all his body
Was alight, therefore she cried out.
Cuaran reassured her.
" Fair love," he said, " fear nothing. 455
" It is good for your sake and for mine.
" The vision which you have seen
" To-morrow may be known.
" The king will hold his feast.
" He causes all his lords to come. 460
" There will be venison enough.
" I shall give spits and bacon
" To the squires in great plenty,
" And to the grooms who have loved me
" The squires are the foxes, 465
" And the lads who are below them,
" And the bear was killed yesterday
" And put in our kitchen.

- " Two bulls the king had baited yesterday.
 " We can count them as the lions. 470
 " We can take the caldrons for the sea,
 " In which the fire makes the water rise.
 " I have interpreted to you the vision.
 " Be no more in fear.
 " The fire which my mouth threw out 475
 " I will tell you what that will be.
 " Our kitchen will burn, I know.
 " It will be in trouble and fear
 " That we carry out our caldrons,
 " And our dishes and our kettles. 480
 " And nevertheless I will not lie,
 " From my mouth fire is wont to come
 " When I sleep ; I know not why.
 " Thus it happens, it troubles me."
 THEN they left the dream, 485
 And afterwards the young people slept.
 But on the morrow morning
 When Argentille had risen,
 To a chamberlain who was with her,
 Who had brought up her father, 490
 She told and related the vision.
 He turned it to good,
 Then said to her, "In Lindsey
 " There was a man of holy life ;
 " A hermit he was, he dwelt in a wood, 495
 " If you spoke to him, he would tell you
 " Of the dream, what it could be.
 " For God loved him, he was a priest."
 " Friend," said she, " I trust you much,
 " For the love of God, come with me, 500
 " I will speak to this hermit
 " If you will come with me."
 He agreed readily

To come secretly with her.
He covered her with a cape, 505
Led her to the hermitage.
He made her speak to the holy man,
And show him all her heart
Of the dream for which she feared,
And of her lord's mouth, 510
Whence she had seen fire issue,
But knew not what it was.
For charity she asked and prayed him
To advise her, and tell her about it
His advice and his will. 515
The hermit sighed,
He began his prayers to God,
Then he told her about the vision.
"Fair lady," said he, "what thou hast dreamed
"Of thy lord, thou shalt see it. 520
"He is born of royal lineage.
"Some day he will have a great inheritance.
"Many folk he will make subject to him
"He shall be king and thou queen.
"Ask him who was his father, 525
"And if he has sister or brother.
"Then go to their country.
"There thou shalt hear the destiny,
"Of whom he was born and whence he is,
"And God of heaven give thee virtue, 530
"And give thee to hear such things
"As may turn to thy good."
Argentille took her leave,
And the holy man commended her to God.
She went to her lord, 535
Secretly and lovingly
She asked him where he was born,
And where were his kinsfolk.
"Lady," said he, "at Grimsby,
"There I left them when I came here. 540

" Grim, the fisherman, is my father.
" Sabure is the name, I believe, of my mother."
" Sir," said she, "let us go seek him.
" So we will give up to the king his land
" From which he has wrongfully driven me, 545
" Both you and me, if he insist on it.
" Better to be a beggar elsewhere
" Than despised among my own folk."
Cuaran replied to her :
" Lady, we will soon be there. 550
" Willingly I will take you with me.
" Let us go and take leave of the king."
This they did in the morning.
Then they took to the road.
The two sons of Grim accompanied them. 555
They went to Grimsby.
But the good man was dead,
And the lady who had brought him up.
There they found her daughter Kelloc.
She had married a merchant. 560
They saluted the husband,
And spoke to their sister.
They asked about their father,
And how their mother fared.
She told them that they were dead, 565
And coming in they made great moan,
Kelloc called Cuaran
And asked him, laughing,
" Friend," said she, "by thy faith
" This woman who is with thee, 570
" Who is she? She is very fair.
" Is she lady or damsel?"
" Lady," said he, "king Alsì,
" Whom I have long served,
" Gave her to me the other day. 575
" She is his niece, daughter of his sister.
" She is daughter of a king of great birth ;

" But he (Alsi) has all her inheritance."
 Kelloc heard what he said.
 Marvellous pity took her, 580
 Because he was the son of a king,
 And because of the wife he had.
 She called Haveloc aside.
 And privily asked him
 If he knew whose son he was; 585
 If he knew his kin.
 He replied, " Grim was my father,
 " Thou art my sister, these are my brothers
 " Who have come here with me.
 " Well I know you are our sister." 590
 Kelloc said to him, " It is not so.
 " Keep it secret, if I tell you.
 " Cause your wife to come forward,
 " And I will make you and her rejoice ;
 " Whose son you are, I will tell you, 595
 " I will relate you the truth.
 " Your father was king Gunter,
 " Who was lord over the Danes ;
 " Hodulf slew him by treason,
 " Who ever had a felon heart. 600
 " King Arthur enfeoffed Hodulf,
 " And gave him Denmark.
 " Grim, our father, fled,
 " To save you he left his land.
 " Thy mother died at sea ; 605
 " For our ship was attacked
 " By outlaws, who seized us.
 " Most of our folk perished there.
 " We escaped death ;
 " We arrived here at this port. 610
 " My father would go no further.

611. MS. P. substitutes for vv. 611-620 these lines :

We changed your true name,
 And called you Cuaran.

- " Here he resolved to stay.
 " Under this haven he settled.
 " He bought and sold salt.
 " He took great trouble to bring you up, 615
 " And to conceal and hide you.
 " Poorly was he clad
 " That you might not be recognised.
 " No one was so bold in his house
 " As to dare to say your true name. 620
 " Haveloc is your name, dear.
 " If you will go to your country
 " My husband will guide you there:
 " You shall go in his ship.
 " The other day he came thence, it is not a month
 ago. 625
 " He heard enough [to show] that the Danes
 " Would have you among them.
 " For the king has made himself much hated.
 " There is a good man in the land,
 " Who always is at war with him. 630
 " Sigar the Stallere is he called.
 " We advise you to go to him.
 " His wife is of your kin,
 " Who often grieves for you
 " That she can hear no news. 635
 " Therefore as soon as you can come to them
 " You shall have your heritage again.
 " You shall take these two lads with you."
 Argentille, when she heard this,
 Rejoiced greatly. 640
 She promised them faith and love.
 If God brought her to honour
 She would do them great good, she said.
 Then there was little delay.
 They soon manned their ship, 645
 And crossed the sea to Denmark.

WHEN they arrived at the country,
And came out of the ship to the land,
The merchant who conveyed them,
Clothed them with good cloth, 650
Then instructed them what to do,
And to what town they should betake themselves,
To the city of the steward,
Whom men called Sigar the Stallere.
“ Haveloc,” said he, “ fair friend, 655
“ When you come to his country,
“ Go, lodge in his castle,
“ And go eat at his table.
“ Ask for food for charity.
“ Take your wife with you. 660
“ They will soon ask you,
“ For the beauty which they will see in her,
“ Who you are, and from what country,
“ And who gave you such a wife.”
They left the merchant, 665
And held on their way.
So far they journeyed and wandered,
That they arrived at the city,
Where the steward dwelt.
They went straight to his castle. 670
They found the great man in his courtyard,
They asked for charity,
That he would give them food;
And lodge them at night.
The steward consented. 675
He led them into the hall.
When it was the hour for meat,
And all went to wash,
The good man sat down to his meat.
He made the three lads sit down, 680
Argentille near her husband;
They were served with great honour.

The bachelors and the squires
Who served at meat
Gazed at the fair lady, 685
And greatly praised her beauty.
Six of them took one part,
Together they agreed,
That they would take away the lad's wife;
If he was wroth, they would beat him. 690
 WHEN they rose from meat,
The lads went to rest.
The steward had them conducted
To an inn to sleep.
Those who coveted the lady, 695
Who was very fair and wise,
Went after them in a street.
They took away the lad's wife;
They would have taken her with them,
When Haveloc got hold of 700
A sharp hard axe.
I know not by what chance,
One of them held and carried it.
He seized it, he rushed on,
Five he killed and cut down. 705
One escaped alive,
But he cut off his hand.
A cry rose up in the city.
They turned and fled,
They came running to a minster, 710
And entered it for safety,
They shut the doors after them.
Haveloc ascended the tower.
The men of the city surrounded it.
On all sides they attacked it, 715
And he defended himself well.
From the top of the wall he took the stone
And threw it down with force.
Tidings came to the castle,

To the steward, which was not good, 720
That he whom he had taken in,
Had killed five of his men,
And lamed the sixth,
And himself had escaped ;
That he had taken refuge in the church tower, 725
And the townsmen had besieged him ;
They were attacking him vigorously,
And he was defending himself boldly ;
He threw down the stones of the tower ;
He wounded many and killed more. 730
The steward called for his horse,
He ordered all his knights
To come with him to the riot
Which had arisen in the city.
First he came to the minster, 735
And saw Haveloc so well helping himself
That he made them all draw back.
All feared he would strike them.
The steward went forward ;
He saw Haveloc, strong and tall 740
(And he had eaten at his table,
He had been with him) ;
Handsome body and fair face,
Long arms and long legs.
Steadfastly he gazed at him, 745
He remembered his lord,
King Gunter, whom he so much loved.
He sighed grievously.
This man was like him in face,
And in height and breadth. 750
He caused the attack to cease,
And forbade them all to advance.
He parleyed with the lad.
“ Throw not, friend,” said he.
“ I give you truce, speak to me. 755
“ Tell me the cause and why

- " You have thus killed my men.
 " Which of you is in the wrong?"
 " Sir," said he, "I will tell you,
 " I will not speak a word of falsehood. 760
 " When we left our dinner
 " Before we came to the inn,
 " On coming out of your house,
 " The boys pursued me.
 " They meant to take away my wife, 765
 " And lie with her before me.
 " I seized one of their axes,
 " And defended myself and her.
 " It is true I slew them,
 " But I did it in defending myself." 770
 WHEN the steward heard
 Their misdeed, he replied,
 " Friend," said he, "come forward :
 " Fear not at all,
 " Beware you hide nothing. 775
 " Tell me where you were born."
 " Sir," said he, "in this country,
 " Thus one of my friends told me,
 " A rich man named Grim
 " Who brought me up in his house, 780
 " After the kingdom was conquered,
 " And my father was killed,
 " Together with me and my mother,
 " He fled after my father's death.
 " He carried off much gold and silver. 785
 " We wandered long at sea ;
 " We were attacked by outlaws,
 " They slew my mother and I was saved,
 " And the good man escaped,
 " Who nourished me and loved me much. 790
 " When our ship had arrived
 " In a desert country,
 " The good man raised a house,

" There he dwelt at first.
 " He found enough for us to eat 795
 " By selling salt and fishing.
 " Since then so many folk have come thither
 " That there is a town and a market.
 " Because they called him Grim
 " Grimsby is the name of the town. 800
 " When I was grown up I left.
 " In the house of king Alsi,
 " I was under the cook in the kitchen.
 " He gave me this girl.
 " She was his kinswoman. I know not why 805
 " He joined her and me.
 " I took her out of the land.
 " Now I am come to seek my friends ;
 " I know not where I can find any
 " For I can name none." 810
 THE steward replied,
 " Fair friend, tell me thy name."
 " Haveloc, Sir, am I named,
 " And Cuaran was I called
 " When I was in the king's court, 815
 " And served in his kitchen."
 The steward thought within himself,
 In his heart he remembered
 That this was the name of the son of the king
 Whom Grim had taken with him. 820
 He almost recognised him.
 But nevertheless he was in doubt.
 He assured him of truce,
 And led him to the castle,
 His wife and his comrades. 825
 He called them his prisoners.
 He had them well served,
 And made them lie at night in his chamber.
 When the young man was gone to rest
 He ordered one of his trusty men 830

To find out, when he was asleep,
If flame came from him,
For this happened to the son of the king
Whom Grim had taken with him.
Haveloc was very weary, 835
He fell asleep straightway.
The very hour that he slept
The fire issued from his mouth.
The chamberlain was sore afraid.
He went to tell it to his lord ; 840
And he thanked God
That he had got back the right heir.
He summoned his chaplains
To write and seal his letters.
He sent them by his messengers, 845
And sent for his friends,
For his men, for his kinsfolk.
Many folk he assembled there,
All those who were in the country
Who hated king Hodulf. 850
In the morning he had the baths warmed,
And Haveloc bathed and washed.
He clad him in rich clothes,
And also his wife who was with him.
He led them into his hall. 855
Haveloc was in great fear
Of the many folk he saw.
Haveloc feared greatly
For the men whom he had killed,
That it was the custom of this country 860
To bathe, wash, and clothe,
And then judge for the crime,
And lead him before the court.
No wonder that he was afraid.
He seized a great axe, 865
(It hung on the fence on a hook.)
Havelock took it in both hands.

He meant to defend himself valiantly,
If they condemned him to be hung. 870

THE steward looked at him,
He went towards him and greeted him.
"Sir," said he, "have no fear,
"Give up this axe to me.
"Have no care. I tell you 875
"I pledge you my honour."

He gave him up the axe,
And he hung it on the hook.
He made him sit on one side,
So that all could see him well. 880

From his treasury he had brought
The horn which none could sound.
If he was not right heir of the lineage
Over the Danes by inheritance,
To know if he could sound it. 885

He told them that he would try it.
To him who could sound the horn
He would give his ring of gold.
There was not in the hall knight,
Servant, groom, nor squire, 890

Who did not put it to his mouth.
Never could any sound it.
The steward took the horn,
He put it in Haveloc's hand.
"Friend," said he, "now try 895
"If you can sound the horn."
"On my faith," said he, "Sir, I cannot,
"Never have I used a horn.

879. MS. P. substitutes for v. 879-86 :

He made him sit on one side.
He placed his wife beside him.
He called his chamberlain.
He asked for the king's horn.
He said they should essay it,
To know if they could blow it.

" I do not choose to be mocked.
 " But since you command me 900
 " I will put the horn to my mouth,
 " And if I can, I will sound it."
 Haveloc rose to his feet,
 And prepared to blow.
 He blessed and crossed the horn. 905
 Loud and well he sounded it.
 They held it for a great marvel
 All those who were in the hall.
 The steward called them,
 He showed him to the whole company. 910
 " Lords, for this have I sent for you,
 " Because God has revisited us ;
 " See here our right heir.
 " We should have great joy of him "
 First of all he uncovered himself, 915
 And kneeled before him.
 He became his man, and swore
 To serve him loyally.
 The others followed him,
 All with good will ; 920
 All became his men.
 After they had received him,
 The news was repeated.
 It could not be long concealed.
 They ran together from all sides, 925
 Rich and poor, who heard it,
 They did homage to him,
 They dubbed him knight.
 The steward helped him so much,
 Being a good and loyal man, 930
 That he assembled a marvellous host.
 He bade king Hodulf by letter
 Surrender the land to him,
 And depart with speed.

KING Hodulf, when he heard this, 935
Jested and railed much.
He said he would fight him.
He collected folk from all sides,
And enough men round him.
On the day that was named between them 940
That the two hosts should meet
And fight together,
Haveloc saw the poor folk
Who had come to help him.
He did not wish them to be killed. 945
To king Hodulf, by his friends,
He sent word that he would fight him,
Body against body, and if he conquered him,
The folk with him should come
And hold him for their lord. 950
“ I know not why they should fight
“ Who are not in fault.”
The king did not deign to refuse.
He made all his people disarm.
And Haveloc disarmed his folk on his side. 955
It seemed to him very long
Before they came together,
And he had gained or lost.
The lords (Hodulf and Haveloc) came together,
They sought each other like lions. 960
Haveloc was of great courage,
He struck king Hodulf so hard
With an axe which he carried
That he felled him, he did not rise again.
There he slew him before his folk, 965
Who all cried out loud,
“ Sire, mercy, that we may not die,
“ For we will serve you willingly.”
They turned to him,
And he pardoned them all. 970

After this deed he received
 The kingdom which was his father's.
 He established good peace in the land,
 And did justice on felons.
 His wife trusted and loved him, 975
 And she served him well.
 Once she was in despair,
 But now God had comforted her,
 Since Haveloc was a powerful king.
 He held the kingdom more than four years. 980
 He acquired wonderful treasure.
 Argentille bade him
 Pass into England,
 To conquer her inheritance
 From which her uncle had cast her out, 985
 And disinherited her with great wrong.
 The king said that he would do
 What she bade him.
 He equipped his navy,
 Summoned his folk and his hosts; 990
 He put to sea when there was wind,
 And took the queen with him.
 Four hundred and eighty ships
 Had Haveloc, full of folk.
 So long he floated and sailed 995
 That he arrived at Carleflure.
 They encamped on the harbour.
 They sought food through the country.
 Then the noble king sent,
 By the advice of his Danes, 1000
 To Alsi, to give up to him
 The land which Ekenbright held,
 Which was given to his niece,
 Of which he had disinherited her;
 And if he would not surrender it 1005
 He said he would take it.

THE messengers came to the king,
 They found him strong and proud,
 When they had told him this,
 And he had laughed and joked at it 1010
 He answered with pride :
 " A wonder," said he, " have I heard
 " Of Cuaran, this cook of mine,
 " Whom I reared in my house,
 " Who comes to demand land of me. 1015
 " I will make my cooks tilt at him
 " With tripods and with caldrons
 " With shovels and with kettles."
 The messengers returned ;
 They related to their lord 1020
 The reply the king made to them,
 And the term the king gave them.
 Before the day they had taken
 Alsi sent for all his friends,
 And all those whom he could have ; 1025
 He let none remain.
 The hosts assembled at Theford
 And prepared to strike.
 King Alsi first armed himself.
 He mounted a grey horse ; 1030
 He went to view his enemies,
 How many men they might have.
 When he saw the Danes
 With standards and with shields,
 He remembered no more the caldrons, 1035
 Nor the shovels nor the kettles,
 With which he had threatened them ;
 He retreated back.
 He told his folk what they should do,
 And how they should fight. 1040
 The shock was rude between them
 From that time till the evening,

Till they could last no longer.
 Black night made them separate.
 Many of the Danes were wounded, 1045
 And of the others many killed.
 Haveloc was very wroth
 For the men he had lost;
 He would have gone off with his Danes,
 And returned to his fleet 1050
 If the queen would have suffered it
 But she showed him a trick
 To conquer his enemy.
 The king remained, he trusted her.
 All the night he had great stakes cut, 1055
 And well sharpened at both ends.
 They tied the dead men to them
 And set them up among the living;
 Two companies they set in order,
 Their axes raised on their necks. 1060
 In the morning, when day broke,
 King Alsi first armed himself.
 So did all his knights
 To begin the battle.
 But when they saw those on the other side, 1065
 All their flesh shuddered.
 Very hideous was the company
 Of the dead whom they saw on the plain.
 Against one man that they had,
 On the other side there were seven. 1070
 His councillors told the king
 That it was no use to fight;
 The Danes had gained men,
 And he had lost many of his;
 He should give the lady her right, 1075
 And make peace before it was worse.
 The king decided to grant all,
 For he could not help it.
 By advice of his friends

A treaty was made with the Danish king. 1080
Faithfully he assured him
And gave him sufficient hostages.
All her land he restored
Which Ekenbright held while he lived.
From Holland as far as Colchester 1085
The Danes were lords and masters.
Then Haveloc held his feast
At the city when he came there ;
He received the homage of the barons,
And restored their inheritance. 1090
After this affair king Alsi
Only lived fifteen days.
He had no heir so direct
As Haveloc and his wife.
The barons received them, 1095
And surrendered to them cities and castles.
Haveloc held in his rule
Lincoln and all Lindsey.
Twenty years he reigned, he was king.
He conquered much with the help of his Danes. 1100
There was much talk of him.
The men of old time, for remembrance,
Made a lay of his victory,
That it might always be in memory,
This was the lay of Cuaran, 1105
Who was right brave and valiant.

The End of Haveloc.

I N D E X.

I N D E X.

The references to Gaimar's *Lestorie* are by the lines, each number, therefore, refers equally to the text and to the translation. The *Epilogue* (pp. 278-289) is denoted by the letters Ep. "*Le Lai d Haveloc*" is similarly indexed by lines, with II. prefixed. The "*Narratio de Uxore Aernulfi*" and "*Gesta Herwardi*" are indexed by pages.

Figures between brackets are dates.

A.

- Abernethy, Scotland, William I. and Malcolm III. meet at, 5717.
 Abingdon, Berks, 5703*n*.
 Aeca, bishop of Hexham (710-33), 1623.
 driven from his see, 1733.
 Aece. *See* Acca.
 Aeer Durus, companion of Hereward, p. 383. *See* Azecier.
 Aeere Vasus, companion of Hereward, p. 373. *See* Azecier.
 Achemannestræte, Saxon name of Bath, Ep. 118.
 Aeke. *See* Acca.
 Aelie. *See* Ockley.
 Adalre. *See* Aller.
 Adelaïs of Louvaine, wife of Henry I., causes Davit to write his history, 6490.
 her book, Ep. 3.
 Adelbald. *See* Æthelbald.
 Adelbriet, Adelbrit, Danish king in Norfolk, 47-91, 2085 :—H. 203-32, 282, 319, 354, 1002, 1084.
 marries Orwain, 59, H. 205.
 dies at Thetford, 80.
 buried at Colchester, 81.
 entrusted Orwain and his land to Edelsi, 87, H. 211.
 Adeldru. *See* Ætheldryth, saint.
 Adelher. *See* Ealchere.
 Adelstan. *See* Eallstan, Æthelstan.
 Adrian I., pope, sends legates to England, 2058-62.
 Adninus, earl of Leicester. *See* Eadwine, earl.
 Æcca, bishop of East Angles, 1461*n*.
 Ædina, mother of Hereward, pp. 341, 365.
 Ægelwine, bishop of Durham (1056-72), sent to Malcolm III. by Eadward Confessor, 5089.
 disinters St. Oswine, 5107.
 joins Hereward, 5474.
 dies in prison, 5703.
 Ægthan, king of Scots, is defeated by Æthelferth, king of Northumbria, 1012-6.
 Ælesme. *See* Æthelhelm.
 Ælfgar, son of earl Leofric, 5066*n*, 5072, 5126.
 Ælflæd, wife of Æthelred, king of Northumbria, 2141.
 Ælfred, king, 2337, 2848-3498.
 his chronicle, 2337--3451.
 defeated by the Danes, with Æthelred, nt Reading, 2956-63.
 at the battle of Ashdown, 2997.
 becomes king, 3023.
 defeats the Danes, 3040.
 makes a truce with them, 3042.

Ælfred, king--cont.

besieges the Danes in Exeter, 3110.
 makes peace with them, 3120.
 builds a fort at Athelney, 3161.
 defeats the Danes at Edington, 3197.
 makes a truce with them, 3209.
 pope Marinus sends a piece of the
 Cross to, 3325.
 procured enfranchisement of the
 English school at Rome, 3350, 3351.
 besieges and takes London from the
 Danes, 3372.
 dies, 3440.

Ælfred, son of Æthelred II., 4534.

his return to England, 4785-4844.
 murdered at Ely, 4831.

*Ælfrie, father of king Osric, 1315n.**Ælfrie, archbishop of Canterbury (996-1006), 4100, 4101.**Ælfifu. See Emma.**Ælfhryth, queen of Eadgar I., 3601-4089, 4140.*

married to Æthelwold, 3726.
 comes to court, 3866.
 marries Eadgar I., 3910.
 has Eadward II. murdered, 3981.
 absolved by Dunstan, 4084.
 dies at Wherwell, 4089.

*Ælfwine, nobleman, 1464.**Ælla, king of Deira. See Ælla, king of Northumbria (867).**Ælla, Ælle, king of Northumbria (560), 919, 949, 1043, 1148, 2305n.*

dies, 1005.

Ælla, king of Northumbria (867), 2702-2826.

outrages the wife of Aernulfus,
 pp. 328-332.
 his death foretold by a blind man,
 2755.

killed by the Danes, 2826.

*Ælla, king of the South Saxons, 2305.**Aelleswrdæ, palace of king Ælla, p. 331.**Æelsi. See Edelsi.**Aernulfus, of Deira, a merchant, p. 328-337.**Æsewine, king of Wessex (674-676), 1412, 1431.**Æthelbald, king of Mercia (716-55), 1656.*

harries Wessex, 1730.

wars against Eadberht, king of Northumbria, 1749.

wars against Cuthred, king of Wessex, 1764.

joins with Cuthred against the Welsh, 1769.

defeated by Cuthred, 1799.

killed, and buried at Repton, 1922-5.

*Æthelbald, with Heardberht, kills three high reeves, 2013.**Æthelbald, son of Æthelwulf, king of Wessex (855-60), defeats the Danes at Ockley, 2474.*

succeeds to Wessex, 2533.

dies and is buried at Sherborne, 2539.

Æthelberht king of Kent (565-616), 955, 977, 1073, 1077, 1079, 1103, 2306.

defeated by Cutha and Ceawlin, 977.

dies, 1103.

his widow, 1109.

Æthelbryht, son of Æthelwulf, succeeds to Kent, Sussex, Essex, Surrey, 2534.

succeeds to Wessex, 2542.

dies and is buried at Sherborne, 2545.

*Æthelburh, wife of Eadwine of Northumbria, goes with Paulinus to Kent and is received by Eadbald, 1245-54.**Æthelburh, queen of Ine of Wessex, raises her husband's building at Taunton, 1691-4.**Ætheldryth, Saint, aunt of Egbryht, king of Kent, 1408.*

dies, 1469.

Æthelferth, Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria (593-617), 1009, 1155.

defeats Ecgthau, Scotch king, at Dawston, 1013.

defeats Britons at Leicester, 1081.

killed by Radwald, king of East Anglia, 1141, 1147.

his sons, 1160, 1258.

- Æthelflæd, sister of Eadward I., inherits Mercia, 3497.
leaves it to Eadward I., 3500.
- Æthelfrith. *See* Æthelferth.
- Æthelgar, archbishop of Canterbury (988), 4097.
- Æthelheard, king of Wessex, succeeds Ine, 1711.
dies, 1761.
- Æthelhelm, killed in battle by the Danes, 2410.
- Æthelhere, brother of Anna, king of East Angles, killed at Wingfield, 1330, 1331*n*.
- Æthelhun, alderman, 1792-1796.
- Æthelmund, ealdorman, 2217*n*, 1221.
- Æthelred, king of Mercia (675-704), 1424.
fights against Ecgferth, king of Northumbria, 1467.
becomes a monk, 1565.
dies and is buried at Bardney, 1655.
his queen, Ostrythe, 1591.
- Æthelred, king of Northumbria (774-794) 1973-1979.
expelled by Alfwold, 2018.
restored, 2128.
marries Ælfæd, 2140.
killed by his subjects, 2174.
- Æthelred I., king of Wessex (866-71), 2846, 2941-3021, 3970.
wars against the Danes, 2565, 2955.
defeats them at Ashdown, 2995.
dies, 3020.
buried at Wimburne, 3021.
- Æthelred II., king of England (978-1016), 3968-4241
his birth, 3968.
is made king, 4077.
crowned at Winchester, 4081.
Eadmund his brother claims the kingdom, 4108.
marries Emma of Normandy, 4129*n*, 4135.
flees to Normandy, 4153.
returns, 4172.
is besieged by Cnut in London, 4191.
dies there, 4198.
children of, 4201, 4241, 4533.
- Æthelred, son of Eadmund Ironside, 4517, 4518. (*See note*.)
- Æthelric, king of York (Northumbria), (588), 1006-1008.
- Æthelstan, son of Eadward I., king of England (925-941), 3529.
becomes king, 3515.
defeats Guthfrith, 3518.
harries Scotland, 3522.
defeats Scots at Brunanburh, 3524.
dies, 3529.
- Æthelstan, son of Ecgbryht, succeeds to Kent, Surrey, and Sussex (836), 2391-2.
defeats Danes, 2481.
king of East Anglia, 2484.
- Æthelstan, baptized name of Guthorm. *See* Guthorm.
- Æthelswith, sister of king Ælfred, goes to Rome, 3332.
buried at Pavia, 3335.
- Æthelwald, king of Sussex (661).
receives Isle of Wight from Wulfhere, 1367.
has its inhabitants baptized, 1369.
- Æthelweard, Fabius, 3016*n*.
- Æthelwold, 3637-3860.
visits Ordgar, 3652.
marries Ælfthryth, 3726.
king Eadgar sends him to York, 3845.
is killed, 3856.
- Æthelwulf, son of Ecgbryht, king (836-857), 2258-2528.
conquers in Kent, 2258-65.
succeeds to Wessex, 2389, 2391.
is defeated by the Danes at Charmonth, 2443.
defeats the Danes at Ockley, 2473.
helps Burhred of Mercia against the North Welsh, 2495.
Burhred of Mercia marries daughter of, 2508.
divides his land, 2514.
goes to Rome, 2518.
marries Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald of France, 2521, 3343*n*, 3345.
dies, 2525.
buried at Winchester, 2528.

- Æthelwulf, ealdorman of Berkshire, 2552-2558, 2948.
- Æthered, ealdorman of Mercia,
 Ælfred commits London to him,
 3375, 3479.
 Gives up London and Oxford to
 Eadward I., 3485.
 dies, 3478.
- Agatha, wife of Eadward son of Eadmund
 Ironside, 4516*n*.
- Ahlstan, bishop of Sherborne (816-867)
 3013*n*.
- Aidan, Aidanz, bishop of Lindsarne (651),
 1318-1323.
 miracles worked by his body, 1322.
- Ailbrith. *See* Adelbriet.
- Ailesbyres. *See* Aylesbury.
- Ailward, Hereward's chaplain, 5620.
- Ailwine. *See* Egelwine.
- Akemanestrete. *See* Achemannestræte.
- Alains, Alan. *See* Brittany, earl of,
- Alberni. *See* Abernethy.
- Albini, William de, earl of Arundel
 (1139-76), 6489*n*.
- Albright, Albriet. *See* Adelbriet.
- Albrit. *See* Ealdbriht.
- Alchere. *See* Ealchere, alderman.
- Alchered, Alchereth. *See* Alehred.
- Alehred, king of Northumbria (765-771),
 1970, 1973.
 is driven away, 1976.
 his son. *See* Osred.
- Alchud (Dumbarton?) 934*n*.
- Alhelm, bishop of Sherborne, (705-
 709), 1574-1579.
- Aldret. *See* Ealdred.
- Aldreth (Alrehethe), Camb., pp. 376, 377,
 388.
- Alef, K., in Cornwall, p. 344.
- Alein le Neir. *See* Brittany.
- Alemaigne, Alemaine. *See* Almain.
- Alençon, Normandy.
 William II. crosses the Sarthe at, 5786.
- Aleneun. *See* Alençon.
- Alexander I., king of Scotland, 4667.
- Alfred. *See* Ælfred, Ealdferth.
- Alfrued, second wife of Hereward, 5592,
 5599, p. 397.
- Alfrued. *See* Ælfthryth.
- Alfwold, king of Northumbria (778-789).
 deposes Æthelred, 2018.
 slain by Siega, 2096, 2168.
 burial and relics of, 2102-2122. (*See*
 2096*n*.)
- Algar. *See* Ælfgar.
- Alger, Danish merehant, 483, 485, 605,
 618.
- Algers. *See* Alger.
- Alisandre. *See* Alexander.
- Aliz. *See* Adelaïs.
- Algier. *See* Alger.
- Aller, Somerset, Guthorm baptized at,
 3225.
- Allington, 2251*n*.
- Almain, 25, 4762.
- Alnewic. *See* Alnwick.
- Alnwick, Northumbria, Malcolm III. slain
 at, 6117.
 Edward his son slain at, 4663*n*.
- Alrehede, Alrehethe (Aldreth), Camb., pp.
 376, 377, 388.
- Alricus Grugan, comrade of Hereward,
 5575, pp. 372, 373.
- Alsinus, comrade of Hereward, p. 373.
- Alwinus, son of Orgar, monk of Ely, p.
 391.
- Alsi. *See* Edelsi.
- Aluere. *See* Ælfred.
- Alveriz, companion of Hereward. *See*
 Alricus.
- Alvive, Haveloc's mother, 405, 418, 430,
 II. 93, 101, 116.
 flies with Grim and Haveloc, 420, II.
 93.
 her death, 430, II. 116.
- Ambresbire. *See* Amesbury.
- Amesbury, Wilts, Ep. 50.
- Amund, Danish king, besieges Cambridge,
 3072-7.
 takes Wareham, 3082.
- Anche, kills Mol Æthelwold, 1969.
- Andred, Andredeswald, Andredeswalt,
 Andredesweald, Sussex, 1825*n*,
 1828, 1904, 3415.
 Sigebryht hides and is killed there,
 1828, 1830.

Andreswald. *See* Audredesweald.

Anc. *See* Anna.

Ange. *See* England.

Angerhale, near Ely?, p. 391.

Angevins, besiege Le Mans, 5791-5810,
5917-22.

hold of William II., 6282.

Angleis. *See* English.

Anjou. *See* Angevin.

Anjou, Fulk IV., count of, 5792*n*.

Anlaf. *See* Olaf.

Anlaf Cwiran. *See* Olaf Kvaran.

Anlas Quiran. *See* Olaf Kvaran.

Anna, king of East Angles (654), 1282,
1331*n*, 1406, 1407*n*.

Antioch, battle at, 5755*n*.

Robert, duke of Normandy, king of,
5759.

Appledore, Devon, 3148*n*.

Appledore, Kent, the Danes at, 3436.

Apulia, 5772*n*.

Aquilinus. *See* Aernulfus.

Archambaud IV., lord of Bourbon, 5792*n*.

Argentan, France, 5883.

Argentele, Argentile. *See* Argentille.

Argentille, Haveloc's wife, 66, 83, 93, 100,
168, 181, 195, 291, 301, 329, 360,
532, 542 :—H. 210, 283, 351, 378,
397, 434, 488, 533, 556, 593, 609
681, 698, 825, 854, 975, 982, 1051,
1094.

marries Haveloc, 100, H. 378.

her dreams, 195, H. 397.

visits a hermit, H. 505.

goes to Grimsby with Haveloc, 329,
H. 556.

her stratagem, 774, H. 1051.

Argentan. *See* Argentan.

Argentoil, France, 5883*n*.

Argyle, 3016*n*.

Armoricanum regnum (Brittany), 3491*n*.

Arthur, king, 4, 35, 39, 45, 410, 417, 514,
525, 3573, Ep. 247, H. 27, 37, 51, 601.

fight against Gunter, king of Den-
mark, 410.

slays Aschis, king of Denmark, 525.

gives Denmark to Edulf, H. 601.

Artur. *See* Arthur.

Arundel, earl of. *See* Albini, Belesme.

Asbiorn, Danish earl, at the battle of
Ashdown, 2989.

Asbiörn, son of Swegen III., king of Den-
mark, invades England, 4937*n*, 5433.

Aschillius (Aschis), king of Dacia, 524*n*.

Aschis, Danish king, slain by Arthur,
524, 525.

Ashdown, taken by Kenwealh of Wessex
from Wulfhere, 1360.

Æthelred and Ælfred defeat the
Danes at, 2975.

Assandun. *See* Assingdon.

Assendune. *See* Assingdon.

Assingdon, Essex, Cnut defeats Eadmund
Ironsides at, 4243.

Athelney, Somerset, 3227.

Ælfred builds fort at, 3162.

Augustine, saint, 1025-1095.

sent to England by pope Gregory,
1025, 2061.

joined by Paulinus, 1048.

ordains Mellitus and Justus bishops,
1061.

prophecy of, 1095.

his tomb, 1127.

Aurelius Conan, 35*n*.

Austin, Austins. *See* Augustine, saint.

Avelina, mother of Walter Giffard, 6084*n*.

Aveloe. *See* Haveloc.

Avranches, France, 5860*n*.

Axemestre. *See* Axminster.

Axminster, Devon, 1918.

Aylesbury, Bucks, taken by Cutha of
Wessex from the Britons, 985.

Azecier, companion of Hereward, 5575.

See Aece, Aeere.

B.

Bade. *See* Bath.

Badhe. *See* Bath.

Bældæg, 826*n*, 840, 841.

Baenburc. *See* Bamburgh.

- Bagsæc, Danish king, slain at Ashdown,
 2983, 3003, 3039.
 Baignard, Geffrai, vanquishes William of
 Eu, 6141.
 Baldewin. *See* Baldwin.
 Baldred, Baldret, king of Kent, 2264.
 Baldwin V., count of Flanders, 5131,
 pp. 354, 559.
 his army, pp. 360, 361, 362.
 Baldwin, Flemish knight, p. 370.
 Bamburgh, Northumb., 1297*n*.
 restored by Ida, 934.
 Robert de Mowbray besieged by Wil-
 liam II. in the castle, 6147, 6157.
 Morel of. *See* Morel.
 Banbury, Oxfordshire, 925*n*.
 Bangor, bishopric of, Ep. 215.
 Barbellet. *See* Barfleur.
 Bardenei, Bardeneic. *See* Bardney.
 Bardney, Linc., king Oswald buried at,
 1293.
 Æthelred, king of Mercia buried at,
 1655.
 king Alfwold buried at, 2108.
 Hereward at, p. 374.
 Barfleur, Normandy, William II. at,
 5840-5904.
 Bas. *See* Bass.
 Baseng. *See* Bagsæc.
 Basewerce (Basingwerk?), Cenwulf of
 Mercia dies at, 2239.
 Basing, Hants, Danes defeated at, 3009.
 Basins. *See* Basing.
 Bass, priest, 1389.
 Bath, 4374*n*, Ep. 115.
 taken from the Britons by Cutha and
 Ceawlin, 994.
 bishopric of, Ep. 113.
 Bavaria, Henry, Duke of, 4790*n*.
 Bearth. *See* Beorht.
 Beaumont, Roger de, 5875*n*.
 Bebbā. *See* Bamburgh.
 Bebbanburh (Bamburgh), 1297*n*, 2117*n*.
 Beewida near York, pp. 331, 332.
 Beewitha. *See* Beewida.
 Bede, death of, 1743.
 Bedefurd. *See* Bedford.
 Bedford, Britons defeated at, 983.
 Hereward imprisoned at, p. 401.
 Bedfordshire, Ep. 149.
 Bedwin, Wilts, 1416*n*.
 Beldeg. *See* Bældæg.
 Beldegging, 839.
 Belesme, Le Perche, 5882*n*.
 Belesme, Robert de, goes to Normandy
 with William II., 5877.
 his possessions, 5879.
 Belin, Belinus, king, 5974, Ep. 182.
 made roads in Britain, 4376, Ep.
 255, 276.
 Belius. *See* Belin, Belinus.
 Bensington, Oxon., taken by Cutha, 985.
 taken by Offa, 2008.
 Beorht, killed by the Picts, 1593.
 Beorhtfrith, fights with the Picts, 1625.
 Beorhtrie of Wessex (784-800), 2051.
 married Offa's daughter, 2065.
 dies, 2213.
 buried at Wareham, 2053.
 Beorhtwulf, king of Mercia, defeated by
 the Danes, 2468, 2470*n*.
 Beorn, burned by the Northumbrians,
 2032.
 Beorn Butsecarl, 2598-2704.
 his wife is outraged by king Osbryht,
 2602, 2615-75.
 defies Osbryht, 2682.
 brings the Danes to Yorkshire, 2599,
 2602, 2694, 2704.
 Beornræd, king of Mercia, 1927.
 driven out by Offa, 1929.
 Beornwulf, king of Mercia, 2283.
 defeated by Eegbryht, 2250.
 Berefrid. *See* Beorhtfrith.
 Berford. *See* Burford.
 Berin. *See* Birinus.
 Berkescire. *See* Berkshire.
 Berkshire, Ep. 107.
 men of, led by Æthelwulf, ealdorman,
 2558.
 Berniche. *See* Bernicia.
 Bernicia, 942, 1255, 1456, 1944.
 bishop of. *See* Eata.
 Bernicon. *See* Bernicia.

- Berthun, bishop of Lichfield (768-785), 2056*n*.
- Bertriz. *See* Beorhtric.
- Bernicke. *See* Bernicia.
- Besington, Besingtone. *See* Bensington.
- Beverley (Beverlai), Yorks, minster of St. John at, 1513.
- St. John buried at, 1690.
- Biedanheafod (Bedwin?), battle at, 1416.
- Biernus (Biorn), king of Norway, p. 343.
- Birinus, bishop of Dorchester, confirms king Cynegils, 1269.
- Bisi, bishop of East Anglia, 1461*n*.
- Blind man foretells Ælla's death, 2728-64.
- Bois, Walter del, slain by Hereward, 5610.
- Bois de Pene. *See* Penwood.
- Bolebec, Osbern de, 6084*n*.
- Boloigne. *See* Boulogne.
- Bos, Bosa, bishop of Deira, 1455.
- Bosentebiri. *See* Pontesbury.
- Boter de S. Edmundo, companion of Hereward, 383. *See* Siwate, Broter.
- Bouillou, Godfrey de, king of Jerusalem, 5767.
- Boulogne, 3411*n*.
- Boulogne, Eustace of, 4663*n*, 6285.
- Bourne (Brun), Linc. Hereward's home, pp. 339, 341, 365, 372.
- retaken by him, p. 365.
- Brabant, lord of, p. 370.
- Brand, 826*n*., 839.
- Brandune (Brandon, Suff. ?), William I. at, p. 385.
- Brant, abbot of Peterborough, p. 368.
- Bratton Hill, Wilts., 3190*n*.
- Brayton, Yorks., 5210*n*.
- Breeding, 838. *See* Brand.
- Brenes. *See* Brennus.
- Brennus, Gaulish king, 5974.
- Bret. *See* Briton.
- Bretaigne. *See* Britain, Brittany.
- Bretaine. *See* Brittany.
- Breton. *See* Britons.
- Breton, Raul de Dol, a, 5689.
- Bretous at battle of Hastings, 5318.
- hold of William II., 6282.
- made the Lay of Haveloc, H. 21.
- Bretun. *See* Bretons, Britons.
- Brian, earl, 5405*n*.
- Brichwlf. *See* Beorhtwulf.
- Brietriz. *See* Beorhtric.
- Bridge of Battle (Stamford Bridge), 5227.
- Brihtwold, abbot of Reculver, archbishop of Canterbury, 1548.
- Bristol, 5405*n*.
- Britain, invaded by Saxons, &c., 22, 947, 2305*n*., Ep. 27.
- why called England, 34.
- kings of, 43, 61, 73, 991-2, 6452, 11, 200.
- Eadwine of Northumbria, conquers all, 1149.
- Comet seen through all, 1447.
- called just inheritance of Danes, 2075, 2088.
- Welsh intend to recover, Ep. 251.
- Brithred. *See* Beornrød.
- Britons, invade Denmark under king Arthur, H. 40.
- driven into Wales by Cerdic, 872-90, Ep. 27.
- defeated by Cyuric and Ceawlin, 925.
- defeated by Ida, 944.
- defeated by Cutha and Ceawlin, 982.
- Cutha killed by, 999.
- Ceolwulf wars with, 1036.
- defeated by Æthelferth, 1084.
- Augustine's prophecy to, 1098.
- defeated by Wulfhere, 1347.
- defeated by Kenwealh, 1357*n*.
- defeated by Centwine, 1477.
- their wars in Wales, Ep. 226.
- their language, II. 259.
- Brittany, 3491*n*., II. 313.
- invaded by Danes, 3307.
- Brittany, Alan, earl of, 5315-5325, 6287*n*.
- at battle of Hastings, 5315.
- William I. gives him Richmond, 5322*n*., 5325.
- Alan, the Black, earl of, brother of the preceding, 6287.
- Brixton Deverell, Wilts., 3166*n*., 3188*n*.

Brochehest. *See* Broekenhurst.
 Brocinail. *See* Broemail.
 Brockenhurst in New Forest, William II. at, 5800, 6254, 6256.
 Broemail, British king, 1091.
 Broher, monk, companion of Hereward, p. 392. *See* Siwate, Boter.
 Brokehest. *See* Broekenhurst.
 Broter de S. Edmundo, p. 340. *See* Siwate, Boter, Broher.
 Bruges, 4849*n*.
 Brumannus, drowns Norman monks, p. 374, 380.
 Brun, Brunne. *See* Bourne.
 Brunanburh, battle of, 3524.
 Brunemne, overrun by earl Tostig, 5169.
 Brunswald, Hereward in, 5554, 5580, pp. 372, 392, 398.
 Bruneswerce. *See* Brunanburh.
 Bruthpat. *See* Brihtwold.
 Buckinghamshire, Ep. 150.
 Buckingham, earl of. *See* Giffard, Walter.
 Buern. *See* Beorn.
 Buern Brucecarle, le Buzecarie. *See* Beorn Butsecarle.
 Buern Leriz, son of Swegen III. king of Denmark, invades England, 5434.
 Bukinham. *See* Buckingham.
 Bulgaria, 4790*n*.
 Bunan. *See* Boulogne.
 Burch. *See* Peterborough.
 Burehtriz. *See* Beohtrtric.
 Bureth. *See* Burhred.
 Burewelle (Burwell), Camb., p. 382.
 Burford, Oxon., battle between Cuthred and Æthelbald at, 1801.
 Burg. *See* Peterborough.
 Burgard, Burghard, king, 907, 917.
 Burgeinon. *See* Burgundians.
 Burgoine. *See* Burgundians.
 Burgundians, 6284, 6303.
 Burhred, king of Mercia (853-74), 2494. conquers the North Welsh, 2496. marries Æthelwulf's daughter, 2507. assembles army against Danes, 2845. driven out by the Danes, 3050. goes to Rome, 3055.

Burhred--*cont.*
 dies and is buried at Rome, 3058, 3060.
 Burher. *See* Burhred.
 Burnulf, Burnulfs. *See* Beornwulf.
 Burwell (Burewelle), Camb., p. 382.
 Bury St. Edmund's, earl Alan of Brittany, buried at, 5330.
 monks of, pp. 340, 383.

C.

Cadwalla. *See* Ceadwalla.
 Caeleon, Monm., Ep. 205.
 bishopric at, Ep. 212.
 Caerwent, Monm., Ep. 205.
 Cair Coel (Colchester), conquered by Adelbrit, 74.
 Cair Segont, 1664*n*.
 Caithness, 11, Ep. 69, 180.
 Fossway runs to, 4374*n*, Ep. 273.
 Calibure, Arthur's sword, 46.
 Cambridge, besieged by Danes, 3073.
 Cambridgeshire, Ep. 135, p. 392.
 Candidant. *See* Condidan.
 Cantebrige. *See* Cambridge.
 Canterbire. *See* Canterbury.
 Canterbury, 4389, Ep. 37.
 taken by the Danes, 2466, 2470*n*.
 archbishopric of, 2056*n*, Ep. 37, 96.
 Canterbury, archbishops of. *See* Augustine, Mellitus, Justus, Deusdedit, Jambryht, Dunstan.
 Cantorbire, Cantorbire. *See* Canterbury.
 Cantorbire. *See* Canterbury.
 Canute. *See* Cnut.
 Caraw, battle near, 1627.
 Carle, King of Cumberland (error for Charles the Great), 2227, 2230.
 Carleflure, east coast of Englant, Haveloc lands at, H. 996.

- Carlisle, bishopric of, Ep. 190*n*.
 Carliuns. *See* Caerleon.
 Carloman, king of France, 3298, 3342*n*.
 killed by a wild boar, 3338.
 Carnarvon, 1664*n*.
 Carrum. *See* Charmouth.
 Cateneis. *See* Caithness.
 Cathwine. *See* Tatwine.
 Cawood, Yorks, Danes at, 2705.
 Ceadda, bishop, 1383.
 Ceadwale. *See* Ceadwalla.
 Ceadwalla, king of Wales (633), slays
 Eadwine, 1233.
 Ceadwalla, king of Wessex (685-8), wars
 in Kent, 1521.
 harries Isle of Wight, 1524.
 goes to Rome, 1531.
 is baptized in name of Peter, 1534.
 dies, 1535.
 Cealwlf. *See* Ceolwulf.
 Cealwlns. *See* Ceawlin.
 Cearwolf. *See* Eardwulf.
 Ceawlin, king of Wessex (560-93), 919*n*,
 2341.
 fights against the Britons, 925, 987,
 995, 1002.
 defeats Æthelberht of Kent, 975.
 dies, 1010.
 Ceawolf. *See* Ceolwulf.
 Cedwale. *See* Ceadwalla.
 Celred. *See* Ceolred.
 Celreth. *See* Selred.
 Cenburg. *See* Cwenburh.
 Cenfus (Cenfusing), 1412.
 Cenred, king of Mercia (702-9), succeeds
 Æthered, 1566.
 reigns over south of Humber, 1594.
 goes to Rome, 1611.
 dies, 1614.
 Cened, king of Northumbria (716), 1647.
 Centwine, king of Wessex (676), drives
 the Britons to the sea, 1477.
 Cenwaille. *See* Cenwalh.
 Cenwalh, king of Wessex (642-72), 1300-
 1403.
 builds Minster at Winchester, 1304.
 fights against Wulfhere, king of
 Mercia at Chester, 1356.
 U 51689.
- Cenwalh--*cont.*
 takes Ashdown from Wulfhere, 1359.
 dies, 1403.
 Cenwulf, king of Mercia, 796-822), 2207.
 captures Eadberht, king of Kent, 2210.
 dies, 2235.
 Ceolmer, joins Ælfred, 3168.
 Ceolred, king of Mercia (709-16), 1610.
 fights at Wansborough, 1640.
 dies, 1650.
 buried at Lichfield, 1652.
 Werburh, his wife, 2038, 2042*n*.
 Ceolret. *See* Ceolred.
 Ceolwlf. *See* Ceolwulf.
 Ceolwulf, Child, set over Mercia by the
 Danes, 3062.
 retains a part, 3123.
 Ceolwulf, king of Mercia (819-21), 2240,
 loses his kingdom, 2243.
 Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria (731-60),
 1727.
 becomes a monk, 1745.
 Ceolwulf, king of Wessex (597), 1031.
 Ceorl, caldorman, 2457.
 Ceowlf. *See* Ceolwulf.
 Ceolwlf. *See* Cynewulf, Ceolwulf.
 Ceowolf. *See* Ceolwulf.
 Cerdic, 10.
 Cerdic, ancestor of English kings, 826*n*,
 848, 856, 4318, 4319, 4322.
 arrives at Charford, 822.
 dies, 873.
 succeeded by Cynric his son, 875.
 his genealogy, 830.
 his descendants, 1910, 1912, 2054.
 Certesore. *See* Charford.
 Certis, Certiz. *See* Cerdic.
 Cestre. *See* Chester.
 Cestreschire, Cestresyre. *See* Cheshire.
 Ceulin, Ceulins, Ceulinz. *See* Ceawlin.
 Chaihy. *See* Chezy.
 Charford, Cerdic lands at, 823.
 Charles the Bald of France, 2522, 3343.
 Charles the Great, 2227*n*.
 Charles. *See* Carloman.
 Charmouth, Dorset, Danes defeat English
 at, 2365, 2443.
 Chef de Bede. *See* Biedanheafod.

- Chehulinz, son of Cynric, 913.
 Chelmesford. *See* Kempsford.
 Chenehart. *See* Cyneheard.
 Chenesi. *See* Kynsige.
 Chenewlf. *See* Cynewulf.
 Chenewold. *See* Cenwalh.
 Chenewolf. *See* Cynewulf.
 Chenfusien. *See* Cenfus.
 Chenret. *See* Cenred.
 Cheor. *See* Ceorl.
 Chenrig, Chenriz. *See* Cynric.
 Chenwine. *See* Centwine.
 Chenwolf. *See* Cenwulf.
 Cheolwlf. *See* Cenwulf.
 Cherbourg, Danes embark at, 3411.
 Cheresburg. *See* Cherbourg.
 Cheshire, 4918, Ep. 164.
 Chess, a Danish game, 3655.
 Chester, 1083*n*, 4222*n*.
 bishopric at, Ep. 165.
 Kenwealh defeated Wulfhere near,
 1356.
 Queen Werburh buried at, 2042.
 Watling Street runs to, 4374*n*, Ep.
 266.
 Chester, Hugh de Abrincis, earl of, 5860–
 5874, 6015–6043.
 goes to Normandy with William II.,
 5874.
 becomes William II.'s wand bearer,
 6035.
 William II. gives him North Wales,
 6043.
 Chezy sur Marne, Danes at, 3262.
 Chichester, Sussex, Ep. 40, 101.
 Roger de Montgomery, earl of,
 5877*n*.
 Chilman meets Ælfred with thanes of
 Hampshire, 3171.
 Chimingeselive. *See* King's Cliff.
 Chippenharn, Wilts, Danes at, 3129, 3244.
 Christina, daughter of Eadward, son of
 Eadward Ironside, 4516*n*.
 Chude, meets Ælfred with thanes, 3169.
 Ciestre. *See* Chichester.
 Ciere. *See* Caraw.
 Cireceestre. *See* Cirencester.
 Cirencester, besieged by Cerdic and set on
 fire by sparrows, 858.
 taken by Ceawlin and Cutha, 994.
 Cwichelm and Cynegils make treaty
 with Penda at, 1217.
 Danes winter at, 3242, 3242*n*, 3249.
 Eadward Martyr's body at, 4043.
 on the Fosseway, 4374*n*.
 in Eadmund's kingdom, 4392.
 Clare, Ric. Fitz Gilbert, earl of, 6350,
 6350*n*.
 his sons, 6350, 6350*n*.
 Clee. *See* Iley.
 Cnebba, Cnebbe, killed in battle against
 Cutha and Ceawlin, 980.
 Cnuht. *See* Cnut.
 Cnut, son of Swegen, king of England
 (1014–36), 2083*n*, 4169–4754.
 leaves England on Æthelred's return,
 4175.
 enters the Frome with his fleet, 4187.
 made king by the English, 4190.
 besieges Æthelred in London, 4196.
 wars with Eadmund Ironside, 4212.
 defeats him at Assingdon, 4244.
 intended combat with Eadmund,
 4285.
 divides the kingdom with him, 4367.
 executes Eadric Streona, 4468.
 marries Emma, widow of Æthelred,
 4532.
 sends Eadmund's sons abroad, 4503.
 orders them to be maimed, 4568.
 drives out Olaf, king of Norway, 4687.
 story of Cnut and the tide, 4699.
 goes to Rome, 4730.
 obtains privileges there for the
 English, 4740.
 goes to Seotland and makes treaty
 with Malcolm II., 4748.
 dies, 4754.
 his daughter, Gunhild, 4760.
 his sister, Estrith, 4799*n*.
 his sons. *See* Harold, Harthaenut.
 Cnut, son of Swegen III., king of Den-
 mark, invades England, 5434.
 Cnuht. *See* Cnut.

- Coaran, Coarant. *See* Cuheran, Haveloc.
 Cobba, father of Ida, 937.
 Coenbyhrt, king, 1363.
 Coimagil. *See* Commail.
 Colehester, Essex, Adelbrit conquers, 75.
 is buried at, 81.
 Colchester to Holland given up to
 Haveloc, 895, H. 1085.
 Coldingham, Berwick, burnt by light-
 ning, 1470.
 Colecestre. *See* Colechester.
 Coleman, Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne,
 1381.
 Colesdeburch, 2117 (*see* note).
 Colesdesburg. *See* Coldingham.
 Columba, Columbains, Columban, abbot
 of Iona, 966, 972.
 baptizes Æthelberht of Kent, 961.
 Combran. *See* Cumbra.
 Combreis. *See* Cymri.
 Combreis. *See* Cumberland, men of.
 Comet, seen all over Britain for three
 months in 676, 1433.
 seen after Eadward Confessor's death,
 5145.
 seen in Northumberland in 1067,
 5360.
 Commail, British king, slain at Scorham,
 991.
 Compiègne, Wilfrid ordained at, 1384*n*.
 Condidan, British king, slain at Scorham,
 991.
 Conrad, Emperor, 4790*n*.
 Constantine, British king, 4, 44, 45,
 Constantine the Great, 1664*n*.
 Constantinople, Norman knight at, p.
 379.
 Constantius, father of Constantine,
 1664*n*.
 Conversaine. *See* Conversano.
 Conversano, Sibilla daughter of Wm. de,
 5772.
 Copsi,thane, meets Tostig in Thanet with
 Ships, 5165.
 Coran Colbe, Dane, cuts off St. Eadmund's
 head, 2923.
 Corbi, Godriens de, "nepos" of the earl of
 Warwick, pp. 372, 373.
 Corineus, settled Cornwall, Ep. 125.
 Cornewaille. *See* Cornwall.
 Cornwall, Ep. 123.
 battle between men of, and Britons,
 1476.
 Hereward in, pp. 344, 349, 356.
 Cornwall, Alef, prince of, p. 344.
 his daughter, pp. 345, 347, 349.
 Coruneus. *See* Corineus.
 Costentin. *See* Constantine.
 Cotingelade (Cottenham?) Camb., p.
 388.
 Coutances, diocese of, 3308*n*.
 Coventre. *See* Coventry.
 Coventry, earl Leofric buried at, 5070.
 Crida, Cridan, king of Mercia, dies, 1010.
 Cross seen in the sky, 1982.
 Croyland, miracles worked by earl
 Waltheof's body at, 5733.
 Turfrida becomes a nun at, p. 393.
 Crulande. *See* Croyland.
 Cuaran. *See* Cuheran.
 Cudbert. *See* Cuthbert, saint.
 Cudburg. *See* Cuthburh.
 Cuda, Cude. *See* Cutha.
 Cndret. *See* Cuthred.
 Cnelius. *See* Ccawlin.
 Cuharan. *See* Cuheran.
 Cuheran, Cuaran, name of Haveloc, *q. v.*
 its meaning, II. 260.
 Cuherant. *See* Cuheran.
 Cumberland, 2228, Ep. 72, 187.
 ravaged by Eadmund I., 3540.
 men of, defeated by Æthelstan at
 Brnanburh, 3525.
 Cumberlant. *See* Cumberland.
 Cumbra, ealdorman, 1903.
 Cnubreis. *See* Cumbrians.
 Cumbrians, 4118.
 Curbarant, slain by Robert duke of
 Normandy, 5755.
 Custance, wife of Ralph Fitz Gilbert, 6447,
 6457, 6495.
 causes Gaimar to write his history,
 6437.
 Cutha, king of Wessex (568-584).
 defeats Kentishmen, 975.
 defeats Britons, 981-99.

Cutha—*cont.*
 is killed by Britons at Fethanleag, 999.
 Cuthbert, St., 1295, 2121.
 ordained bishop of Hexham, 1486, 1493*n.*
 Cuthbert. *See* Cuthbryht.
 Cuthburh, sister of Ine, founds Wimborne Minster, 1669.
 marries Ealdferth of Northumbria, 1671.
 is separated from him, 1672.
 Cuthbryht, archbishop of Canterbury (741-758), 1767, 1954.
 Cuthred, king, (639-61), 1361.
 Cuthred, king of Wessex (740-54), 1762-1807.
 Æthelbald of Mercia wars against, 1764.
 fights against the Welsh, 1769.
 fights with Æthelhun, 1792.
 defeats Æthelbald of Mercia, 1796.
 is defeated by the Welsh, 1805.
 dies. 1807.
 Cuthred, king of Kent, 2223.
 Cwenburh, sister of Ine, 1677.
 Cwihelm, brother of Ceawlin, king of Wessex, 1010.
 Cwihelm, king of Wessex (626-36).
 sends a traitor to kill Eadwine, 1169.
 fights against Penda, 1215.
 baptized, 1272.
 his lineage, 1362.
 Cyceestre. *See* Cirencester.
 Cymri, 20.
 Cynegils, king of Wessex, fights against Penda, 1215.
 is baptized, 1264.
 Cynegilsing, surname of Kenwealh of Wessex, 1305.
 Cyneheard, brother of Sigebryht, kills Cynewulf, king of Wessex, 1839-94, 2045.
 is killed, 1894.
 is buried at Axminster, 1918.
 Cynewulf, Ætheling, slain by king Ine, 1687.

Cynewulf, king of Wessex (755-84), 1815-1915, 2010.
 disinherits Sigebryht, 1815.
 is slain by Cyneheard's men, 1854, 2048.
 buried at Winchester, 1915.
 Cynewulf, high reeve, slain, 2015.
 Cynric, son of Cerdic, arrives at Charford, 826.
 succeeds Cerdic, 874.
 fights with Britons, 894, 924.
 kills Wasing, 911-916.
 Cynric, a king's son of Wessex, 1789.
 Cynnit, Arx, 3148*n.*
 Cyrecestre. *See* Cirencester.

D.

Dacia, Aschillius, king of, 524*n.*
 Dane, king in England before the Saxons came, 2083, 2990*n.*, 4317, 4320, 4321.
 Daneis. *See* Danes.
 Danes, in Denmark, 528, II. 25, 32, 50, 598, 626, 884.
 Danes in England, 37, 47, 60, 97, 818, 3387, 3535, 4173, 4503, 4938.
 chess learnt by Ordgar from the, 3655.
 in Norfolk from Haveloc's time, 897, II. 990.
 invade England, 761, 2067, 2092.
 their claim to England, 2077, 4316.
 harry Lindsey, 2164.
 defeat Offa, 2171.
 sail up Humber, 2185, 2578.
 their ships wrecked, 2195.
 harry Sheppey, 2359-2510.
 defeat Eggbryht at Charmouth, 2363.
 joined by the West Welsh, 2372.
 kill Æthelhelm, 2411.
 besiege London and Rochester, 2415.

Danes--*cont.*

defeat Æthelwulf, 2445.
 defeated by Eannlf, 2450.
 defeated by Ceorl, 2456.
 take Canterbury, 2466.
 defeat Beohrtwulf, 2468.
 defeated at Ockley, 2477.
 defeated at Sandwich, 2480.
 kill Huda and Ealchere, 2505.
 defeated by Osric and Æthelwulf, 2560.
 come to Thanet, 2561.
 make truce, 2563, 2574, 2587, 3012, 3046, 3090, 3116, 3202, 3469.
 land in East Anglia, 2571.
 at York, 2588, 2721, 2743, 2839, 2862.
 invited by Beorn Butsecarl, 2694.
 defeat and kill Ælla, 2826.
 take Nottingham, 2841.
 kill St. Eadmund, 2871.
 fight at Englefield, 2952.
 kill Æthelwulf, 2960.
 defeated at Ashdown, 2975.
 fight at Basing, 3009.
 fight at Merton, 3011.
 defeat Ælfred, 3030.
 set Ceolwulf over Mercia, 3061.
 besiege Cambridge, 3073.
 take Wareham, 3082.
 defeated by Ælfred, 3087, 3191, 3322.
 take Exeter, 3098.
 are besieged there, 3110.
 settle at Chippenham, 3129.
 raise a mound to Ubba, 3150.
 are baptized, 3225.
 Danish host at Fulham, 3254.
 waste France, 3265, 3304.
 winter at Ghent, 3276.
 enter Le Maine, 3306.
 driven out of France, 3313, 3316.
 those of East Anglia troublesome, 3359, 3393.
 hold London, 3363.
 land at Lympne and ravage south coast, 3411, 3421, 3426.
 defeated by Eadward I. at Tettenhall, 3476.

Danes--*cont.*

defeated by Æthelstan, 3517.
 carry Svein's bones to Norway, 4164.
 defeat Eadmund Ironside at Sherstone and Assingdon, 4242, 4250.
 English desert to, 4236.
 their tyranny over the English, 4769.
 London favourable to, 4802.
 defeated by Harold II. at Stamford Bridge, 5233.
 their invasion in William I.'s reign, 5417, 5436, p. 383.
 Deda, a Norman knight who entered Ely, p. 377.
 his description of the isle, p. 380.
 Danemarche. *See* Denmark.
 Daniel, bishop of the West Saxons (709-45), 1577, 1582.
 goes to Rome, 1685.
 his successor, 1776.
 Danois. *See* Danes.
 Danessee, Tosti de, companion of Hereward, p. 373.
 Davi. *See* Davit.
 David, St., Ep. 221.
 David I., king of Scotland, 4667.
 Davit, poet, 6488, 6493, 6519.
 Dawston, Liddesdale, battle at, 1015.
 Deerhurst, Glouc., meeting of Cnut and Eadmund at, 4257.
 Defneschire. *See* Devonshire.
 Defurel (Deverell?), 1918*n*, 1919.
 Deira, Deiron, 941, 1943, pp. 328, 331.
 Bosa, bishop of, 1455.
 Ælla, king of, p. 330. *See* Ælla, king of Northumbria.
 Deirum, Deirun. *See* Deira.
 Denemarche. *See* Denmark.
 Denmark, trade between England and, 459.
 Adelbriht has four earldoms in, 71.
 Arthur conquers, 412, II. 28.
 given by Arthur to Hodulf. H. 602.
 Haveloc and Argentille, arrive in, 496, II. 646.
 Walgar takes sons of Eadmund Ironside to, 4514.

Denmark—*cont.*

- Cnut's sons in, 4566.
 part of Cnut's dominion, 4685.
 Godwine flees to, 4851.
 king of. *See* Gunter.
- Deorham (Derham), 989*n*.
 Derby, 4222*n*, Ep. 169.
 Derebi. *See* Derby.
 Derham, Norf., 989*n*.
 Deus-dedit, Archbishop of Canterbury (655-64), 1385, 1386.
 Devonshire, Devenescire. *See* Devonshire.
 Devonshire, Ep. 119.
 lords of, pursue Danes, 2459.
 Ubba buried in, 3153.
 Ordgar, a great man in, 3651.
 king Eadgar in, 3770.
 Dexestane. *See* Dawston.
 Dinan. *See* Ninian, saint.
 Dol, Raul de, a Breton, slain by Hereward, 5686, 5690.
 Dolfinus, count, his widow, 5599*n*, p. 397.
 See Alfrued.
 Don, river, Danes at, 2187.
 Donald, son of Malcolm of Scotland and Margaret, 4665.
 Donald VI., king of Scotland, 4663*n*.
 Donecan. *See* Duncan.
 Donhead, Wilts, parson of, 4063.
 Doneheue. *See* Donhead.
 Doneald. *See* Donald.
 Dorchester, Oxon, 4391, Ep. 65.
 Cynegils of Wessex, baptized at, 1267.
 Cwihelm baptized at, 1272*n*.
 ancient capital of Southumbria, 1602.
 Dore, Derbysh (?), 2349.
 Dorsete. *See* Dorset.
 Dorewik, Dorewit, 2349*n*.
 Dorkecestre. *See* Dorchester.
 Dorobelle (Canterbury), Ep. 95.
 Dorset, Dorsete, Ep. 111.
 men of, fight against the Danes, 2453, 3170.
 Dover, Watling street runs from, 4374*n*, Ep. 266.
 Dovre. *See* Dover.

- Draitone, headborough (Villicus) of, companion of Hereward, p. 373.
 Dreteeestre. *See* Dorchester.
 Drenx, Eustace of, 5902.
 Drifelde. *See* Driffield.
 Driffield, Yorks, Ealdferth, king of Northumbria dies at, 1570.
 Drithelm. *See* Drythelm.
 Drives. *See* Dreux.
 Drythelm, monk of Mailrose, 1551.
 Duerherstede. *See* Deerhurst.
 Dumbarton, 934*n*.
 Duncan II., king of Scotland, 4665.
 Dunnichen Hill, Forfar, 1496*n*.
 Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, (961-88).
 remonstrates with Eadgar I., 3944.
 absolves Queen Ælfthryth, 4084.
 dies, 4082, 4096.
 Durelme. *See* Durham.
 Durham, head of Oswald at, 1296.
 William I. sends Flemish force to, 5425.
 bishopric of, Ep. 186.
 Durrume. *See* Durham.
 Dutl, comrade of Hereward, p. 372. *See* Outl.

E.

- Eadbald, king of Kent (616-640).
 forsakes Christianity, 1105.
 marries his father's widow, 1108.
 is reclaimed by Laurentius, 1121.
 receives Æthelburh and Paulinus, 1250.
 makes Paulinus bishop of Rochester, 1252.
 dies, 1273.
 Eadberht, king of Northumbria (737-68)
 1747, 1751, 1937.
 becomes a monk, 1941.
 dies, 1985.

- Eadberht, Præn, king of Kent, 2181, 2182.
 captured by Cenwulf, king of Mercia, 2210.
- Eadbert. *See* Eadberht.
- Eadbrith. *See* Eadberht.
- Eadbrith. *See* Heardberht.
- Eadbryht, king of Kent (748), dies, 1788.
- Eadburch. *See* Eadburg.
- Eadburg, daughter of Offa, 2064, 2066.
- Eadgar, king of England (957-975), 3567-3974.
 his issue, 3580.
 his dominion, 3571.
 sends Æthelwold to see Ælfthryth, 3637.
 marries Ælfthryth to Æthelwold, 3711.
 meets Ælfthryth, 3790.
 sends Æthelwold to York, 3845.
 marries Ælfthryth, 3910.
 founds bishoprics, &c., 3925.
 honours kings of Wales, 3930.
 is rebuked by Dunstan, 3940.
 dies, 3974.
- Eadgar, son of Eadmund Ironside, 4516, 4624-54 (*see* 4516*n*).
 marries daughter of king of Hungary, 4639.
 death of, 4654.
- Eadgar, Ætheling, 4516*n*, 4624*n*, 4652, 4937*n*, 5420*n*, 6182*n*.
- Eadgar, king of Scotland (1098-1107), 4667, 6182.
- Eadgith, saint, daughter of Eadgar, 3593.
- Eadgyth, queen of Eadward Confessor, 5029*n*.
 dies and is buried in Westminster, 5141, 5143.
- Eadhed, bishop of Lindsey, 1461*n*.
- Eadmund, St., king of East Anglia, 2871-2924, 4159*n*.
 is defeated by the Danes, 2876.
 martyred, 2906.
 appears in a vision to Swegen, 4159*n*.
- Eadmund, I., king of England (941-6), 3532-64.
 drives out Ragnald and Anlaf, 3538.
 ravages Cumberland, 3540.
- Eadmund I.--*cont.*
 murdered, 3546.
 his successor, 3564.
- Eadmund, son of Eadgar I., 3968*n*.
 claims the kingdom, 4106.
 helped by the Welsh, 4109.
 fights with Eadmund Ironside against Cnut, 4213.
 dies, 4106*n*, 4217.
 buried at Hereford, 4218.
- Eadmund Ironside, king of England (1016), 4211-4668.
 fights against Cnut, 4211, 4226.
 Wales and West of England receive him, 4225.
 is defeated by earl Thorkytel at Sherstone, 4228.
 defeated by Cnut at Assingdon 4245.
 intended combat with Cnut, 4257.
 makes treaty with Cnut, 4367.
 his portion of the kingdom, 4383.
 murdered by Eadric Streona, 4408, 4410*n*, 4460*n*.
 his marriage, 4222.
 his children, 4440, 4489, 4550, 4668.
- Eadmund, son of Eadmund Ironside, 4440*n*, 4516*n*, 4542*n*.
- Eadmund, son of Malcolm III. of Scotland and Margaret, 4665.
- Eadmund, son of Harold II., comes to England with a fleet, 5406, 5407.
- Eadmund, brother of Æthelred I., 4106, 4215.
 (*See* notes to both passages.)
- Eadmunt. *See* Eadmund.
- Eadnoth, resists invasion by Harold's sons, 5405*n*, 5410.
- Eadred, king of England (946-55), 3543-63.
 seizes Northumberland, 3547.
 Scotch subject to, 3548.
- Eadric Streona, 4848.
 murders Sigeferth, 4222*n*.
 deserts Eadmund Ironside at Sherstone, 4239.
 murders Eadmund, 4408.
 has his sons sent to Cnut, 4445.
 tells Cnut of the murder, 4450.

Eadric Streona—*cont.*

is executed by Cnut, 1475.

a son of, 411*on*.

Eadward I., the Elder, king of England (901-25), 3459-3514.

defeats the Danes at Tettenhall, 3476.

receives London and Oxford from

Æthelred, king of Mercia, 3483.

wars on Severn, 3493.

inherits Mercia from his sister, 3496.

kills king Sihtric, 3505.

gathers a host against Ragnald, king of York, 3511.

dies, 3513.

is buried at Winchester, 3514.

Eadward II., Martyr, king of England (975-8), 3592, 3975-4384.

succeeds his father, Eadgar I., 3975.

is killed by order of queen Ælflthyth, 4038.

enures wrought by his body, 4072.

buried at Shaftesbury, 4075, 4384.

his kinsfolk, 4114.

Eadward Confessor, king of England (1041-66), 4241-5143.

brought up in Normandy, 4534.

sent for by the English, 4785, 4854.

in Hungary, 4787.

crowned at London, 4860.

laws of, 4861, Ep. 277*n*.

accuses Godwine of murdering his brother, 4901.

marries Godwine's daughter Eadgyth, 5029.

banishes Hereward, p. 342.

dies, 5137.

buried at Westminster, 5143.

Eadward, son of Eadmund Ironside, 4440*n*, 4516*n*, 4512*n*.Eadward. *See* Eadmund.Eadward de Schafteshire. *See* Eadward II., Martyr.

Eadwig, king (955-9), 3562, 3566.

Eadwine, king of Northumbria (617-33), 1037-1246, 2311.

rebuilds York minster, 1041.

baptised, 1045-1203.

seizes kingdom of Rædwald, 1148.

Eadwine—*cont.*

Cwichelm sends to kill him, 1171.

leads an army into Wessex, 1190.

is killed by Ceadwalla, 1232.

Æthelburh, wife of, 1246.

daughter of. *See* Eanfled.

nephew of. *See* Oswine.

Eadwine, earl, defends Lindsey from Tostig, 5177.

his lands in Yorkshire, 5322*n*.

with Hereward, pp. 376, 379

Eadwine's cliff, 1968.

Eadwlf. *See* Ealdulf.

Ealehere, ealdorman, 2481-2505.

Ealdbriht, king's son, 1703.

Ealdelf, Eadelm. *See* Aldhelm.

Ealdferth, king of Northumbria (685-705), 1500.

dies at Driffeld, 1570.

marries Cuthburh, 1671.

Ealdfrid, Ealfrid. *See* Ealdferth.Ealgyth, queen of Eadmund Ironside, 4222*n*.

Ealdred, archbishop of York (1061-9), 5252, 5385.

Ealdulf, high reeve, slain, 2015.

Ealhstan, bishop, sent by Eggbryht to fight in Kent, 2259.

Eanbald, archbishop of York (780-796), makes Eardwulf king of Northumbria, 2199.

Eanfled, daughter of Eadwine of Northumbria, 1183, 1196.

Eanfrid, son of Æthelferth, of Northumbria, 1161.

made king of Bernicia, 1258.

Eanulf, the ealdorman, defeats the Danes, 2450, 2454.

Eardwulf, king of Northumbria (795-806), 2201.

expelled, 2225.

East Anglia, 1143, 1331, 1349, 2484, 2874, Ep. 55.

Danes in, 2571, 3242*n*, 3250, 3359, 3393.

bishopric of, 1461*n*.

East Saxons, 846.

Easter, first observed by king Ercenberht, 1279.

Eata, bishop of Bernicia, 1456, 1501.

Eata, father of Eadberht, king of Northumbria, 1751, 1752, 1755, 1986.

Eate. *See* Eata.

Eboraca. *See* York.

Ebrauc builds York, &c., 934*n*.

builds Bamburgh, 936.

Ebureth. *See* Ælfred.

Eberith. *See* Ecgeberht.

Ecbert. *See* Ecgeberht and Ecgbryht.

Ecbricht. *See* Ecgeberht.

Ecbrith. *See* Ecgbriht.

Ecbrith. *See* Eadberht.

Ecbrithstane. *See* Ecgbryht's stone.

Ecbruth. *See* Ecgeberht.

Ecgbryht's stone (Brixton Deverell), 3166.

Ecferd. *See* Ecgerferth.

Ecferd. *See* Eadberht.

Ecfred. *See* Ecgerferth.

Eega, Eegan, high reeve, 2015.

Ecgeberht, archbishop of York (732-66), 1741, 1755.

buried at York, 1758.

Ecgeberht, saint, 1659, 1725.

Ecgbriht, king of Kent (664-73), 1379, 1389, 1407.

Ecgbryht, king of Wessex (802-36), 2215-2386, 2529, Ep. 75.

succeeds Beorhtric, 2215.

harries Wales, 2235.

defeats Beornwulf of Mercia at Ellendune, 2256

becomes king of England, 2270, 2295, 2345.

subdues the Welsh, 2354.

defeated by the Danes at Charmouth, 2368.

defeats them at Hengston, 2379.

dies, 2386.

Ecgerferth, son of Offa, king of Mercia, 1932, 1933, 1935, 2055, 2175, 2178.

Ecgerferth, king of Northumbria (670-85), 1393, 1466, 1499.

drives away Wilfrith, 1453, 1622.

Ecgerferth--*cont.*

sends a host against the Scotch, 1479.

makes St. Cuthbert a bishop, 1485.

slain by men of Orkney, 1495.

minster of, at Wearmouth, 2187*n*.

his sister. *See* Ostrythe.

Echenegode. *See* Ercongota.

Echferd. *See* Ecgeberht.

Edefrit. *See* Æthelfrith.

Edelbald. *See* Eadbald.

Edelbald, Edelbalt. *See* Æthelbald.

Edelbert. *See* Æthelheard.

Edelbrit, Edelbert, Edelbrith. *See* Æthelberht.

Edelbrith. *See* Æthelbryht, Eadberht.

Edelburc, Edelburg. *See* Æthelburh.

Edeldrud. *See* Ætheldryth.

Edelfrid. *See* Æthelferth, Æthelfrith.

Edelfriz. *See* Æthelric.

Edelgar. *See* Æthelgar.

Edelhard. *See* Æthelheard.

Edelhon, Edelhun. *See* Æthelhun.

Edelinge. *See* Athelney.

Edelret, Edelrath. *See* Æthelred.

Edelris, Edelriz, king, 1316.

Edelsi, Alsi, British king at Lincoln, 49, 62,

78, 86, 100, 762, 900, H. 194, 199,

214, 237, 293, 339, 346, 469, 573,

578, 1001, 1024, 1029, 1062, 1077.

Haveloc serves in his kitchen, 105, H. 241, 803.

marries his sister to Adelbrit, king of Norfolk, 58, H. 205.

marries his niece Argentille to Haveloc, 100, 167, H. 378.

fight with Haveloc, 765, H. 1029.

dies, 810, H. 1091.

Haveloc succeeds to his kingdom, 816, H. 1091.

Edelsi. *See* Edelsi.

Edelsucht. *See* Æthelswith.

Edelwine. *See* Ægelwine.

Edelwlf. *See* Æthelwulf.

Edelwold. *See* Æthelwald.

Edelwolf. *See* Æthelwulf.

Edelwolt, Edelwoth. *See* Æthelwold.

Edenesdone. *See* Edington.

- Edgar. *See* Eadgar.
 Edid, Scint. *See* Eadgith, saint.
 Edinburgh, 934*n*.
 Edington, Wilts, 3188*n*.
 Ælfred defeats the Danes at, 3190.
 Edith, saint. *See* Eadgith, saint.
 Edithe. *See* Eadgyth.
 Edret. *See* Eadred.
 Edriz Estreine, Edriz Estrene, Edriz
 Estriene. *See* Eadric Streona.
 Edulf. *See* Odulf.
 Edward. *See* Eadward.
 Edward, son of Malcolm III. and Margaret,
 4663*n*.
 Edwi. *See* Eadwig.
 Edwine. *See* Eadwine.
 Edwines clive. *See* Eadwine's cliff.
 Edwolf. *See* Æthelwolf.
 Edwynus, earl. Turbertin, great grandson
 of, p. 373.
 Egle, Gilbert del. *See* Laigle, Gilbert de.
 Egtan. *See* Ægthan.
 Ekenbright. *See* Adelbriect.
 Elbrith. *See* Ecgbryht.
 Eldret. *See* Æthelred.
 Eleburnan. *See* Helathyrn.
 Ellendune. *See* Ellendune.
 Eleperz. *See* Ely.
 Elesa, Elese, father of Cerdic, 826*n*, 830,
 831.
 Elessine (Elesa), 829, 831.
 Elfet. *See* Ælfed, Æthelfled.
 Ælfred. *See* Alfred the Great.
 Elfrich. *See* Ælfrie.
 Elfrid. *See* Ælfrie.
 Elfwine. *See* Ælfwine.
 Elfwolt. *See* Alfwold.
 Elias de la Fleche. *See* Fleche, Elias de la.
 Elle. *See* Ælle.
 Ellecroft or Ellecross, Ælla killed at, 2830,
 2833.
 Elleeros. *See* Ellecroft.
 Ellendune, battle of, 2251.
 Ellerton, Yorks, 2016*n*.
 Elstreuet. *See* Ælfthrythe.
 Elstrued, Elstruet. *See* Ælfthryth.
 Elueret. *See* Ælfred.
 Ely, Camb., 5463*n*, 5563*n*.
 convent at, 1410.
 Ælfred, son of Æthelred Unready,
 murdered at, 4832.
 Hereward and the English besieged in,
 5477, 5497, pp. 374-391.
 bishopric of, Ep. 137.
 cathedral, 4840*n*.
 sword offered at mass in, p. 369.
 Turstan, abbot of, p. 374, 376, 391.
 Wilfrinus, monk of, p. 368.
 monks of, capitulate to William I., p.
 390.
 Isle of, described, p. 380.
 Emma (Ælfifu), d. of Richard I. duke of
 Normandy.
 marries Æthelred II., 4127, 4129*n*,
 4135.
 flees to Normandy, 4155.
 at Winchester, 4207, 4799*n*.
 marries Cnut, 4532, 4540.
 her sons, 4533.
 induces Cnut to imprison sons of
 Eadmund, 4549.
 her daughter by Cnut, 4672.
 Emme. *See* Emma.
 Emor. *See* Eomer.
 Engelfed. *See* Englefield.
 England, why so called, 32.
 Danes invade, 2068.
 tribute to Rome paid by, 6473.
 old histories of, 2320-2340, 3451,
 6467, 6469.
 description of, Ep. 23-200.
 used for the part of Britain inhabited
 by English, II. 173.
 Englefield, Berks, 2947.
 English, invaders of Britain, 23, 30, 36,
 830, 854, 879, 893.
 distinguished by Gaimar from Saxons,
 1035, 2081.
 Easter and Lent first observed by,
 1275-7.
 as opposed to Danes during reign of
 Danish kings, 4525, 4545, 4551,
 4653, 4766, 4791, 4853.
 despised by the Danes, 4767.
 their privileges at Rome, 4741.

English—*cont.*

- serving in army of William I., 5484,
5530.
- resist William, under Hereward,
5463.
- crown William II., 5778.
- English dances, p. 366.
- English language, 3451, 3948, 6469, Ep.
89.
- English method of knighting, p. 368.
- English school at Rome, Burhred of Mercia
dies in, 3058.
- enfranchised, 3350, 4738.
- Eomer attempts to murder Eadwine, 1173.
- Eoppa. *See* Cobba.
- Ercenberht, king of Kent, 1275-1377.
- first English king to fast in Lent,
1277.
- and to observe Easter, 1279.
- his wife, Seaxburh, 1281, 1407*n*.
- his daughter Ercongota, 1283.
- dies, 1377.
- Erchenbert. *See* Ercenberht.
- Ercherbricht. *See* Ercenberht.
- Ereongota, daughter of Ercenberht, 1283,
1285.
- Eric Barn, son of Swegen II., king of
Denmark, 5434*n*.
- Eric the Good, king of Denmark, 5434*n*.
- Erkenbright. *See* Ercenberht.
- Ermingestrate, Ep. 261.
- Ernald. *See* Eadnoth.
- Erningestrete. *See* Ermingestrate.
- Ernold. *See* Eadnoth.
- Ernulf, earl, goes to Normandy with
William II., 5895.
- Ernuls. *See* Eanulf.
- Escepaie, Escepeie. *See* Sheppey.
- Escorestan. *See* Sherstone.
- Escose, Escoteis, Eseo*z*. *See* Scots.
- Esendune. *See* Ashdown.
- Esenesdone. *See* Ashdown.
- Esewine. *See* Æscwine.
- Esexe. *See* Essex.
- Esla, 826*n*.
- Eslage, 834.
- Esling, 833, 834.
- Espac. *See* Espec, Walter.

- Esparlon, France, 5882.
- Essec, Walter, 6448, 6453, 6455.
- Essex, Ep. 127.
- Mellitus preaches in, 1070.
- in East Anglia, 1144.
- men of, send hostages to Ecgbryht,
2271.
- in Æthelbryht's kingdoms, 2535.
- kingdom of, Ep. 51.
- Esswitune, saint. *See* Swithun, saint.
- Estanford. *See* Stamford.
- Estein. *See* Hæsten.
- Estengle. *See* East Anglia.
- Estrith, sister of Cuut, 4797*n*.
- Estrueth. *See* Ælfthrythe.
- Estsexe. *See* Essex.
- Estsexiens. *See* East Saxons.
- Estutesbirie. *See* Tutbury.
- Ethan. *See* Eata.
- Ethelred, son of Malcolm III. and Mar-
garet, 4663*n*.
- Ea, William, count of, with William II. in
Normandy, 5899.
- conspiracy of, 6129*n*, 6140.
- challenged and vanquished by Geffrai
Baignard, 6142.
- Eustace of Boulogne, 4663*n*, 6285.
- Eustace of Dreux, 5902.
- Everwic, Everwich, Everwics. *See* York.
- Everwiz. *See* York.
- Evewich. *See* York.
- Evreux, William, count of, 5901.
- Evrewiz. *See* York.
- Evriwes. *See* Evreux.
- Ewldre. *See* Appledore.
- Excestre, Execestre. *See* Exeter.
- Exeter, 3606, 4392.
- Danes at, 3098.
- Ælfred besieges the Danes in, 3110.
- bishopric of, Ep. 122.

F.

- Falca, surname of Lewinus Mone, one of Hereward's companions, p. 373.
 Farinmagil, Farinmail, British king, 992.
 Feadecanlee. *See* Fethanleag.
 Felix, monk of Jarrow, 1637*n*.
 Ferrers, Henry de, 5687*n*.
 Fethanleag, Cutha killed at, 998.
 Finchale, Durham, 1376*n*.
 Fitz Gilbert, Ralph, 6456.
 Fitz Gilbert, Richard earl of Clare, 6350.
 Fitz Hamon, Robert, at William II.'s death, 6357, 6395.
 Fitz Osbert, William, earl of Hereford, 5725*n*.
 Flambarð, Ranulf, 5818.
 Flanders, 5131*n*.
 Hereward in, pp. 353, 354, 366.
 Flanders, count of. *See* Baldwin.
 Fleche, Elias de la, count of Maine, 5927–5962*n*.
 in prison in Rouen, 5927.
 William II. restores Le Mans to him, 5949.
 he becomes his liegeman, 5957.
 his death, 5962*n*.
 Flemenc, Flemeng. *See* Flemings.
 Flemings, come over with earl Tostig, 5160.
 desert him and return, 5185.
 sent to Durham by William I., and massacred by the English, 5423, 5428.
 hold of William II., 6283.
 Fordhere. *See* Forthhere.
 Forfar, 1496*n*.
 Forthhere, killed by Eomer, 1181.
 Forthhere, bishop of Sherborne, 1579, 1581.
 Foss, Fosse, Roman Road, 941, 4374, Ep. 270.
 Frana, Danish earl, at the battle of Ashdown, 2989.

- France, Danish invasion of, 3262–3316, 3399, 3406, 3435.
 William II. feared in, 5965.
 Walter Tirel's possessions in, 6260.
 Franc. *See* Frena.
 Freawine, 826*n*.
 Frederic, brother of earl William de Warenne, p. 369.
 Freegis, speech by, 4963.
 Fregis, mentioned in Domesday, 4963*n*.
 French, Frenchmen, 6303. *See* France.
 used for Normans in England, 5248, 5270, 5307, 5402, 5484, 5512, 5577, 5598, 5635, 5676, 5698, Ep. 227, 242, pp. 360, 365, 367, 368.
 French language, 6442, Ep. 90.
 French monks drowned by an Englishman, p. 374.
 Freodagaring, 837.
 Freodegar. *See* Freothogar.
 Freothogar, 826*n*, 838.
 Fretewine, (Freawine), 837.
 Frethern, 998*n*.
 Fridlevus, king of Denmark, 780*n*.
 Frome, 3606.
 Frome, river, Cnut enters mouth of, 4987.
 Front. *See* Frome, river.
 Frume. *See* Frome.
 Fuleford. *See* Fulford.
 Fuleham. *See* Fulham.
 Fulford, Yorks, victory of Tostig and Harold Hardrada at, 5215.
 Fulham, Danes at, 3254.
 Fulk IV., count of Anjou, 5792*n*.

G.

- Gaenoch, comrade of Hereward, p. 368.
 Gaifer, king, grandfather of Haveloc, 404.

- Gaimar, 2925, 3893, 6483, 6508.
 account of his writing his book, 6438-80.
 had written of Troy, 6528.
- Gainsborough, Linc., Swegen dies at, 4159.
- Galeis. *See* Welsh.
- Galloway, Streclned, king of, 3069. *See* note.
- Gant. *See* Ghent.
- Gardimbre, city of Hungary, 4586.
- Gateshead, Durham, 5455.
- Gatesheued. *See* Gateshead.
- Gauter del Bois, slain by Hereward, 5610.
- Gawaleis. *See* Welsh.
- Gaynesburc. *See* Gainsborough.
- Geffrei Martel. *See* Martel, Geoffrey.
- Gefmun, Gefmund, bishop of Rochester, 1552.
- Gefrai del Maine, imprisoned by Hereward, 5611.
- Gefrai en Gulevent, 6121.
- Geine the Coward, king in Britain, 908.
- Geldesdone Hill, 4815.
- Geldesfort. *See* Guildford.
- Geleweie. *See* Galloway.
- Geoffrey of Mayenne, 5611*n*.
- Geraint, king of Wales, 1630, 1632.
- Gerd. *See* Gyrth.
- Gerentin. *See* Geraint.
- Geri, kinsman of Hereward, 5501, 5574, p. 398, 399.
- Gernemue. *See* Yarmouth.
- Gewis, 835.
- Ghent, Danes winter at, 3277, 3284.
 (Gant), Gisebritus de, p. 343.
- Gier, attacks Hereward, 5581.
- Giffard, Walter, goes to Normandy, with William II., 5899.
 knighted with thirty youths, 6083, 6086, 6103.
 his pedigree, 6084*n*.
- Giffart. *See* Giffard.
- Gilbert of Tunbridge, present at William II's death, 6351.
- Gildas, 41.
- Gilde. *See* Gildas.
- Gilebert. *See* Gilbert.
- Gillemar. *See* Gaimar.
- Gillingham, 4815*n*.
- Giunes. *See* Guisnes.
- Girvii (Fenmen), p. 352.
- Gisebritus de Gant, p. 343.
- Giwis, 826*n*.
- Glamorgan, bishopric at, Ep. 216.
- Glastonbury, 4431*n*.
- Gloucestre. *See* Gloucester.
- Gloucester, 3870, 4391, Ep. 198.
 taken by Cerdic, 866.
 conquered by Cantha and Ceawlin, 993.
 Ceolwulf, king of, 1032.
 meeting between Eadmund and Cnut at, 4268.
 mistake for Colechester, H. 1085.
 Lowine of, 919.
 Robert, earl of, 6449, 6454.
- Gloucestershire, Ep. 155.
- Godefrai. *See* Godfrey.
- Godewine. *See* Godwine.
- Godfrey de Bonillon, king of Jerusalem, 5767.
- Godricus de Corbi, "nepos" of the Earl of Warwick, pp. 372, 373.
- Godrum. *See* Guthorm.
- Godwine, earl, 4795-5042.
 his designs on the crown, 4799.
 Normans massacred by order of, 4823.
 has Ælfred, son of Æthelred II., murdered, 4842.
 flees to Denmark, 4851.
 returns, 4868.
 is tried and restored, 4901.
 Eadward marries daughter of, 5029.
 dies, and is buried at Winchester, 5041, 5042.
 his sons. *See* Harold, Tostig, Gyrth, Leofwine.
 his wife Gytha, 4767*n*.
- Godwine, son of Harold II., comes to England with a fleet, 5406, 5407.
- Godwinus, Gille, comrade of Hereward, p. 372.
- Godwin, the son of Guthla, p. 372.
- Gonild, Gounild. *See* Gunhild.
- Gonter, Gounter. *See* Gunter.

- Goyinus Gille, companion of Hereward, p. 373.
- Goyinus de Rothewelle, companion of Hereward, p. 373.
- Granteestre. *See* Grantchester.
- Grantchester, Camb., 1605.
- Grantebrige. *See* Cambridge.
- Gregory, saint, 960.
sends Augustine to England, 1024, 2061.
- Griffin. *See* Griffith.
- Griffith, king of North Wales, 5071, 5080.
- Grim, Danish baron, Gunter entrusts his wife and child to, H. 57.
flees with them, 424, 579, II. 89, 820.
arrives at Grimsby, 437, II. 131.
becomes a fisherman, 369, 380, II. 135.
brings up Haveloc, 453, H. 158.
sends Haveloc to travel, II. 105.
Haveloc considers him his father, H. 541, 587.
his daughter. *See* Kelloc.
his sons, 332, 334, 535, 547, 593, H. 188, 555, 638, 680.
his wife. *See* Sebrug.
- Grimesbi, Grimesby. *See* Grimsby.
- Grimsby, Linc., Haveloc brought up at, 307, H. 130, 539.
Haveloc returns to, 329, 617, H. 556.
named from Grim, H. 130, 142, 800.
Danes at, 2582.
merchant of, 604.
- Grugan, Aluricens, companion of Hereward, 5575, pp., 372, 373.
- Guader (Waers). Ralph, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, 5722, p. 390.
- Gualeis. *See* Welsh.
- Guales. *See* Wales.
- Gudfrid. *See* Guthfrith.
- Gudlac. *See* Guthlac.
- Gudret. *See* Cuthred.
- Gudrum, Gudrun. *See* Guthorm.
- Guenelinge, 2091.
- Gui. *See* Guy.
- Guildford, 4811.
- Guisnes, count of, p. 354.
Hoibrietas his nephew, p. 355.
- Gulac, saint. *See* Guthlac, saint.
- Gulevent, Geoffrey en, slays Malcolm III. at Alnwick, 6121.
- Gunhild, daughter of Cnut, wife of Emperor Henry III., 4674, 4760.
- Gunner, 3585*n*.
- Gunnora, wife of Richard I., duke of Normandy, 6084*n*.
- Gunter, king of Denmark, father of Haveloc, 403-684, II. 25.
slain in battle against Arthur, 415, II. 35, 597.
entrusts his queen and son to Grim, H. 57.
his castle, H. 53.
his horn, 673, 684, 716.
Haveloc like him, H. 747.
his steward. *See* Sigar.
- Gurmond. *See* Gurmund.
- Gurmund, Gurmunt, Danish king, 3404.
at Cirencester, 3242.
in East Anglia, 3251.
harries France, 3262, 3404.
slain, 3282, 3342.
- Guthfrith, king of Northumbria, 3318.
- Guthlac, saint, 1635, 5732.
- Guthlac, Godwin son of, p. 372.
- Guthorm, Danish king, besieges Cambridge, 3071.
takes Wareham, 3082.
baptized, 3215.
named Æthelstan, 3221, 3382.
dies, 3242*n*, 3379.
buried at Thetford, 3383.
- Guy, French sheriff, 5512.
- Gyrth, brother of Harold II., 5265, 5343.
- Gytha, wife of Godwine, 4797*n*.

H.

- Hærethaland, 2091*n*.
- Hæsten, Danish chief, 3431, 3434.
- Haldene. *See* Healfdene.
- Halfdene. *See* Healfdene.

- Halielande. *See* Holy Island.
 Halselin, a Norman, kills Hereward, 5691.
 Hampshire, 1819, 2553, Ep. 104.
 men of, 2557, 3171.
 Hamtone, Hantune. *See* Northampton, Southampton.
 Hamund. *See* Heahmund.
 Hanbury, Wulfhere of Mercia buried at, 2042*n*.
 Hanteshire. *See* Hampshire.
 Harald, Danish earl, at the battle of Ash-down, 2990.
 Harald, Yric, son of, 3555.
 Harald. *See* Harold.
 Harald Harfage. *See* Harold Hardrada.
 Harald, name assumed by Hereward, p. 354.
 Haralt. *See* Harald.
 Hardenuth. *See* Harthacnut.
 Hardehant. *See* Harthacnut.
 Harfagri. *See* Harold Hardrada.
 Harold I., king of England, 4677, 4756, 4797, 4799*n*.
 Harold II., king of England, 5076-5407.
 with Tostig, subdues Wales, 5076.
 defeats Tostig and Harold Hardrada, 5226.
 takes homage of Harold Hardrada's son, 5242.
 killed at Hastings, 5339.
 sons of, 5407.
 Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, 5195-5239.
 agreement with Tostig, 5199.
 slain by Harold II., 5231.
 his son, 5239.
 Harold, son of Swegen III., king of Denmark, invades England, 5434.
 Harold. *See* Harald.
 Harthacnut, king of England (1039-41), 4677, 4757, 4787*n*.
 Hastings, French build castle at, 5249.
 battle of, 5267-5342.
 Hatfield Chase, 1226*n*.
 Haveloc, son of a Danish king, also called Cuheran, 102-817, 898, 2085, 2099*n*, II. 17-1105.
 brought up at Grimsby, 306, II. 143.
 Haveloc—*cont.*
 is cook to king Edelsi, 105, II. 241.
 marries Argentille, 167, H. 378.
 flame issues from mouth of, 245, H. 72, H. 436, H. 838.
 returns to Grimsby, 329, H. 556.
 goes to Denmark, 496, H. 647.
 blows the horn of Gunter, 716, H. 903.
 conquers and slays Odulf, 742, H. 961.
 succeeds to kingdom of Edelsi, 815, H. 1097.
 Sidroc, his descendant, 2998.
 Headleaga, Guthorm buried at, 3384*n*.
 Heahmund, bishop of Sherborne, killed at Merton, 3013.
 Healfdene, Danish king, at battle of Ash-down, 2983.
 fights against the Picts, 3067.
 his brother. *See* Ubba.
 his nephew. *See* Harald.
 Heanbald. *See* Eanbald.
 Heanfet. *See* Eanfet.
 Heanfrid. *See* Eanfrid.
 Heardberht, 2013.
 Heathen. *See* Danes.
 Heaufrid. *See* Eanfrid.
 Heeburch. *See* Ecgbriht.
 Heccc, first English bishop of Lindsey, 1461.
 Heeferd. *See* Ecgferth.
 Heccildesham. *See* Hexham.
 Heethenesham. *See* Hexham.
 Heetilham. *See* Hexham.
 Heddington, Wilts, 3188*n*.
 Hedfelde, Eadwine of Northumbria, slain at, 1226.
 Helathyrn, 2016.
 Helies. *See* Fleche, Elias de la.
 Heimon, Heimun. *See* Fitz Hamon, Robert.
 Helmeslac. *See* Helmsley.
 Helmsley, Yorks, 6447.
 Hely. *See* Ely.
 Henges. *See* Hengist.
 Hengesdune. *See* Hengston.
 Hengestdown. *See* Hengston.

- Hengis, Hengist, 14, 27, 827, 842, 847, Ep. 23, 34.
- Hengston Hill, Egbryht defeats the Danes at, 2377.
- Henri. *See* Henry.
- Henry II., emperor, 4516*n*.
- Henry III., emperor, marries Gunhild, daughter of Cnut, 4674*n*, 4760.
- Henry, duke of Bavaria, 4790*n*.
- Henry I., king of England, 4663*n*, 6210, 6484, 6489*n*, Ep. 2.
- Heota. *See* Eata.
- Hereford, Eadmund, son of Eadgar I., buried at, 4218.
William Fitz Osbert, earl of, 5725*n*.
bishopric of, Ep. 160.
- Hereford. *See* Hertford.
- Herefordshire, Ep. 159.
- Hereward, 5469-5710, pp. 339-404.
his parentage, p. 341.
description of, p. 341.
kills a bear, p. 343.
kills a giant in Cornwall, p. 344.
in Ireland, p. 347.
rescues a Cornish princess, p. 349.
in Flanders, pp. 352-364.
kills the Normans in his father's house and revenges his brother's death, p. 364.
is knighted, p. 368.
leader of English against Normans, 5469, p. 367.
revisits Flanders, p. 370.
names of his followers, 5574-5, pp. 371-3.
is besieged in Ely by William I., 5500, p. 374.
goes to the Norman camp disguised as a potter, p. 385.
burns the Norman works, p. 388.
takes refuge in Bruneswald, p. 392.
is attacked there by Gier, 5583.
captures the abbot of Peterborough, p. 394.
sacks Peterborough, 5557, p. 395.
St. Peter appears to, p. 395.
is repulsed at Stamford, 5567.
does homage to William, 5605, p. 400.
- Hereward—*cont.*
imprisoned, p. 401.
serves William for many years, p. 404.
killed by Normans, 5616, 5692.
his wives. *See* Turfrida, Alfrned.
- Herheth, Camb. (?), p. 375.
- Hirundo, Hereward's mare, pp. 363, 385.
- Hering, Herius, Scotch leader, 1019.
- Hermengarde, wife of Fulk IV., count of Anjou, 5792*n*.
- Herniehe. *See* Bernicia.
- Hertford, synod at, 1380*n*.
- Hertfordshire, Ep. 148.
- Hese. *See* Heugh.
- Hestdene, 1596.
- Hestengle. *See* East Anglia.
- Hestsexe. *See* Essex.
- Hetmund, son of Harold Hardrada, 5239*n*.
- Hengh and Caraw, lakes, 1627.
Beorhtfrith fights with the Picts between, 1627.
- Heveloe. *See* Haveloc.
- Hexham, bishop Eata dies at, 1501.
bishop Acea driven from, 1734.
Alfwold buried at, 2096*n*.
relics of King Alfwold (Oswald) at, 2115.
St. Cuthbert, bishop of, 1490, 1493*n*.
John, bishop of, 1502.
- Hextildesham. *See* Hexham.
- Hibald. *See* Higebryht.
- Higbald, saint, bishop of Lindisfarne, 2200.
- Higebryht, bishop of Dorchester, 2056.
- Hilda, Hilde, abbess of Whitby, 1474.
- Hinne. *See* Inc.
- Hlothere, bishop of the West Saxons, 1396.
- Hlothere, king of Kent, 1518.
- Hodulf. *See* Odulf.
- Hogor, kinsman of Hereward, p. 373.
- Hobrietus, nephew of the count of Guisnes, p. 355.
- Hoiand. *See* Holland.
- Holande. *See* Holland.
- Holderneis. *See* Holderness.
- Holderness, Danes come through, 2708.

Holland, Line., in the kingdom of Adelbrit and Haveloc, 75, 805, H. 1085.
in Southumbrian kingdom, 1596.
sends troops to William I., p. 392.
Holmedene, 1595.
Holy Island, harried by Malcolm III. of Scotland, 5104.
Horepol, Robert de, pp. 401, 403.
Hors. *See* Horsa.
Horsa, 827, 842, 847.
Hoyland. *See* Holland.
Hubald. *See* Higbald, saint.
Huda, Hude, ealdorman, 2499, 2505.
Hugh, earl. *See* Chester.
Hugo, the Breton, chaplain of Hereward, p. 371.
Hugo, the Norman, priest, companion of Hereward, p. 373.
Humber, river, boundary of kingdoms, 51, 1597, 2297.
boundary of a bishopric, Ep. 153.
Saxons spread from Caithness to, 11.
Danes in, 2163, 2185, 2578, 2582, 5437.
Eggbryht, king of all south of, 2297.
Eggbryht leads army beyond, 2348.
Danes conquer north of, 2836.
Eadmund I. leads army beyond, 3534.
Æthelwold ruler north of, 3847.
Swegen subdues people north of, 4147.
Eadgar Ætheling in, 4657.
Tostig in, 5173, 5183, 5208, 5209.
Ægelwine and Siward Barn in, 5460.
Humbre. *See* Humber.
Hunfert, Hunferth, bishop of Winchester, 1777.
Hungary, Eadmund Ironside's sons in, 4584, 4588, 4781, 4787.
Hungary, king of, 4587-4645.
receives Eadmund Ironside's sons, 4609.
marries his daughter to Eadgar, 4639.
makes him his heir, 4641.
queen of, 4587.
Salomon, king of, 4587*n*.
Stephen, king of, 4587*n*, 5790*n*.
Hungrie. *See* Hungary.
Huntedon. *See* Huntingdon.

U 51689.

Huntedune. *See* Huntingdon.
Huntendone. *See* Huntingdon.
Huntingdon, 1603, 5548.
Huntingdonshire, 1603, 4921, Ep. 148 p. 392.
Huon. *See* Muncumeri, Hugh de.
Huons. *See* Chester, Hugh, earl of.
Hurchullus, companion of Hereward, p. 373.
Huun. *See* Chester, Hugh, earl of.
Hwiceas, 2217*n*.

I.

Ida, king of Northumbria, 930-49, 1155.
first English king of Northumbria, 930.
restored Bamburgh, 934.
fought against the Britons, 943.
Ide. *See* Ida.
Ikenild, road, Ep. 259.
Il. *See* Ælle.
Ilchester, Somerset, 4374*n*.
Iley, Wilts? 3188.
Ine, king of Wessex (688-728), 1539, 1558.
goes to Rome, 1542, 1710.
deposes Geraint, king of Wales, 1629.
fights at Wansborough, 1640.
builds Taunton, 1692.
wars in Surrey and Sussex, 1701.
Ingild, Ingilt, brother of Ine, 1666.
Ingvar, Danish king, 3066, p. 328.
takes Nottingham, 2842.
martyrs St. Eadmund, 2896, 2931.
in London, 3066.
his brother. *See* Ubba.
Inne. *See* Ine.
Iona, 965, 1664*n*.
Ireland, expedition to, 1593*n*.
Hereward in, pp. 347, 354, 355, 356.

S

Ireland—*cont.*

king's son of, pp. 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353.

Ireloune de Leycestre, 949.

Irie. *See* Yrie.

Isle of Wight, held by king Cuthred and king Coenbyht, 1361.

given by Wulfhere, king of Mercia to Æthelwold, king of the South Saxons, 1366.

men of, baptized, 1369.

harried by Mul and Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, 1524.

Tostig's attack on, 5161*n*.

Iwain, king of Murray and Lothian, 5.

Iwar. *See* Ingvar.

Iwarz. *See* Ingvar.

J.

Janbryht, archbishop of Canterbury (763–90), 2056*n*.

Jason, 6529.

Jerusalem, taken by Robert, Duke of Normandy, 5752, 6207.

left by him to Godfrey de Bouillon, 5768.

Johans. *See* John, saint.

John, saint, archbishop of York, bishop of Hexham, 1503.

bishop of Chester, 1506, 1508.

goes to Beverley, 1512.

buried there, 1690.

Jon. *See* John, saint.

Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, wife of Æthelwulf, 2522, 3343*n*, 3344.

Judith, countess, sister of Baldwin of Flanders, wife of earl Tostig, 5100, 5116, 5132.

Justin. *See* Justus.

Justus, 1028.

consecrates Paulinus, 1046*n*.

bishop of Rochester, 1064, 1067.

archbishop of Canterbury, 1136.

K.

Kaer Ebrauc (York) 934*n*.

Kanterbire. *See* Canterbury.

Kerliun. *See* Caerleon.

Karlun. *See* Charles.

Karrewein. *See* Caerwent.

Karrun. *See* Charmouth.

Kateneis. *See* Caithness.

Kawode. *See* Cawood.

Kelloc, daughter of Grim, 332–485, H. 559–637.

tells Haveloc who he is, 377, H. 591.

assists him to go to Denmark, 485,

H. 622.

Kempsford, Welsh defeated at 2219.

Kenbrit. *See* Coenbyht.

Kenegilsing. *See* Cynegilsing.

Kenegilz. *See* Cynegils.

Keneliert. *See* Cyneheard.

Kenewlf. *See* Cynewulf.

Kenewolf. *See* Cynewulf.

Kenny Castle, Devon, 3148*n*.

Kenret. *See* Cenred.

Kenriz. *See* Cynric.

Kent, 3413, Ep. 33, 93.

Æthelburh, wife of Eadwine of Northumbria, and Paulinus go to, 1248.

Æthelred, king of Mercia, harries, 1428.

Mul and Ceadwalla harry, 1522, 1530.

Cenwulf, king of Mercia, harries 2209.

conquered by Eegbryht, 2262, 2267.

Hæsten in, 3433.

kings of, 1988.

Kent—*cont.*

See Æthelberht, Eadbald, Ercenberht, Wihtred, Swebheard, Eadberht, Cuthred, Æthelbryht, Æthelwulf, Ealchere.

Kenteis. *See* Kentishmen.

Kentishmen, make truce with Danes, 2563.

put to flight by Cutha and Ceawlin, 976.

resist king Eadwine of Northumbria, 1153.

burn Mul, 1526.

pay Ine for doing so, 1555.

fight with the Danes, 2432, 2436, 2499.

Kentwine. *See* Centwine.

Kenwealh. *See* Cenwalh.

Kerboga. *See* Cnrbarrant.

Kesteven, Linc., 1596.

King's cliff, 2016.

Kingston, 4078*n*.

Kinuith Castle. *See* Kenny Castle.

Kynsige, archbishop of York (1051-60), 5089.

L.

Laigle, Gilbert of, present at William II.'s death, 6353, 6369.

Lancaster, 4224.

Lancastre. *See* Lancaster.

Lande, castle of, France, 5792*n*.

Latin, books in, 6443.

Laurent, Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury (605-19), 1111, 1125.

Le Magne, Le Maigne. *See* Maine, Le.

Le Mans. *See* Mans, Le.

Leadwald. *See* Leodwald.

Lefwinus Prat, companion of Hereward, p. 373.

Lefricus. *See* Leofric.

Leicester, 4222*n*, Ep. 66, 197.

battle at, 1083.

Ireloune de, 919.

Leicester, Adninus, earl of. *See* Eadwine, earl.

Leicestershire, Ep. 149, p. 392.

Leicestre. *See* Leicester.

Lenbury, 986*n*.

Leincmeis, Robert de Belesme, earl of, 5881.

Leodwald, 1752.

Leofric, earl, at Godwines trial, 4923.

speech of, 4969.

dies, 5065.

buried at Coventry, 5070.

Leofric the Black, companion of Hereward, p. 340.

Leofric, the deacon of Bourne, pp. 339, 373, 383, 402.

Leofric of Bourne, father of Hereward, pp. 341, 365.

Leofwine, brother of Harold II., at battle of Hastings, 5265, 5343.

Leswine. *See* Leofwine.

Letoldus, Saxon knight, p. 398.

Leueric, Leueriz. *See* Leofric.

Leuricus. *See* Leofric.

Lepipes, Martinus, comrade of Hereward, pp. 343, 364.

Lepipes, horse named, p. 363.

Hereward kills him, p. 392.

Lewine, earl, 4917.

Lewine. *See* Leofwine.

Lewinus Mone, companion of Hereward, p. 373.

Lewis. *See* Louis.

Leycestre. *See* Leicester.

Liban. *See* Lilla.

Lichesfeld. *See* Lichfield.

Lichfield, archbp. of, 2056*n*.

Ceolred of Mercia buried at, 1652.

Lidwiccas, fleet from, 3491.

derivation of, 3491*n*.

Lidwiche. *See* Lidwiccas.

Lile de With. *See* Isle of Wight.

Lilla, killed by Eomer, 1181.

Limene. *See* Lympe.

Limmene. *See* Lympe.

Lincoln, 94, 4222*n*, 4374*n*, Ep. 66, 144.

Edelsie (Alsi), king of, 50, H. 196, 240.

Haveloc at, H. 192, 240.

Lincoln—*cont.*

Haveloe, king of, H. 1098.

bishopric of, Ep. 145.

tower of, p. 373.

Lincolnshire, 1595*n*, Ep. 147, p. 392.

Lindeseie, Lindesie. *See* Lindsey.

Lindesware. *See* Lindsey.

Lindisfarne, 1376*n*, 2164*n*.

Lindsey, Linc., in Edelsie's kingdom, 50,

85, 94, H. 196.

Haveloc brought to, 581.

in Haveloc's kingdom, H. 1098.

Hece, first English bishop of, 1460.

in kingdom of Southumbria, 1595.

Danes harry, 2164, 2184.

submits to Swegen, 4142*n*.

Æthelred ravages, 4179, 4184.

harried by earl Tostig, 5174.

earl Eadwine comes to, 5178.

earl of. *See* Uhtred.

a hermit of, H. 495.

Lisle de With. *See* Isle of Wight.

Liuere, companion of Hereward, p. 373.

Llandaff, bishopric of, Ep. 216*n*.

Llydaw, British name of Brittany, 3491*n*.

Loddon, river, 2964*n*.

Loeneis. *See* Lothian.

Loewis. *See* Louis.

Lohier. *See* Hlothere.

Lombardy, 4762.

emperor of, 5861.

London, people of, forsake Christianity, 1133.

Danes at, 2417, 2470*n*, 3044, 3066, 3361, 3363, 4801.

taken by Ælfred, 3372.

held by Æthered, 3375, 3479.

given up by him to Eadward I., 3485.

king Eadgar at, 3940.

Æthelred Unready comes to, 4191.

Cnut at, 4387, 4447, 4699.

Eadmund dies at, 4410*n*.

Godwine at, 4801.

Eadward Confessor crowned at, 4860.

William I. at, 5536.

William II. at, 6108.

bishopric of, Ep. 129.

bishop of. *See* Mellitus.

London—*cont.*

St. Paul's Cathedral, Æthelred buried at, 4199.

Londres. *See* London.

Lot, Iwain's brother, 1*n*.

Lothian, earldom of, Ep. 73.

Iwain, king of, 6.

Louis III., king of France, 3291, 3296, 3341, 3343.

Louis le Begue, king of France, 3342*n*.

Louvain. *See* Adelaide.

Lowine, Saxon king, 919.

Lowis. *See* Louis.

Ludecan, king of Mercia, 2284, 2291, 2294.

Luie (London?), city, 2470.

Luitune, taken by Cntha and Ceawlin, 986.

Laumbardie. *See* Lombardy.

Lundenburg, 2470*n*. *See* London.

Lundres. *See* London.

Lutecan. *See* Ludecan.

Luteran. *See* Ludecan.

Lympne, Danes land at, 3412–25.

Lyndeseye. *See* Lindsey.

M.

Maebeth, king of Scotland, 5044, 5045, 5050, 5051.

Macheden. *See* Maebeth.

Mærleswegen, speaks in Godwine's behalf, 4937.

left in the north by Harold II., 5255

Maese, river, 3262*n*.

Mahald. *See* Matilda.

Maine, Le, Danes in, 3308, 3402.

insurrection in, 5611*n*.

William II. in, 5787.

people of, besiege English in Le Mans, 5791, 5808, 5918.

subject to William II., 5964, 6282.

earl of. *See* Fleene, Elias de la

Maine, Gefrai del, imprisoned by Hereward, 5611.

- Malcolm II., king of Scotland, makes treaty with Cnut, 4750.
dies, 4754.
- Malcolm III., king of Scotland (1057-93).
marries Margaret, sister of Eadgar Ætheling, 4516*n*, 4650, 4660.
makes peace with Eadward Confessor, 5091, 5094.
harries Northumberland, 5102.
makes peace, 5117.
Tostig gives gifts to, 5192.
William I., leads host against, 5714.
meets William I., at Abernethy, 5715.
killed at Alnwick, 6113, 6123.
his wife. *See* Margaret.
his sons, 4663, 6182*n*.
- Malcolom. *See* Malcolm.
- Malcolub. *See* Malcolm.
- Malcolum. *See* Malcolm.
- Malcolumb. *See* Malcolm.
- Malet, Robert, p. 401.
- Malvern, from Lancaster to, receive Eadmund Ironside, 4224.
- Manasar, old, count in Flanders, p. 353.
- Maus, *lc*, France, Hereward going to, 5607.
William II. besieges, 5787, 5932.
people of Maine and Anjou besiege English in, 5793, 5807.
William II. restores, 5946, 5950.
- Mansel. *See* Maine, *lc*, people of.
- Margaret, wife of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, 4516*n*, 4624*n*, 4649, 4650, 4663.
her sons, 4663, 6182*n*.
- Marins. *See* Marinus.
- Marinus, pope, sends Ælfred a piece of the cross, 3325, 3327.
dies, 3349.
- Marleswain. *See* Mærleswēgen.
- Marne, river, in France, 3262*n*.
- Martel, Geoffrey, besieges English in Le Mans, 5792.
- Martin Lightfoot, comrade of Hereward, pp. 343, 364.
- Mary, daughter of Malcolm III., wife of Eustace of Boulogne, 4663*n*.
- Maserfield, Oswald killed at, 1291.
- Matelgarus, companion of Hereward, p. 398.
- Matilda, queen of Henry I., 4663*n*.
- Matilda, wife of William I., 5739, 5740.
- Mayenne, Geoffrey of, 5611*n*.
- Melites, Meliton. *See* Mellitus.
- Mellent, Robert, earl of, in Normandy with William II., 5875.
- Mellit. *See* Mellitus.
- Mellitus, archbishop of Canterbury (616-24), comes to England, 1028.
bishop of London, 1065.
preaches in Essex, 1069.
archbishop of Canterbury, 1132.
his successor, 1135.
- Merce. *See* Mercia.
- Merceinc. *See* Mercia.
- Merceis, Mercencis, Mercennais, Mercenais. *See* Mercians.
- Mercene, Mercenne, Mercenland, Mercenclant. *See* Mercia.
- Mercia, Ep. 60-5.
Eadberht of Kent, taken prisoner to 2212.
two kings in, 2282.
Danes in, 2840.
delivered to Ceolwulf by Danes, 3062.
divided by Danes, 3121.
Danes of, 3393.
Edward I. inherits Mercia from Æthelflæd, his sister, 3496, 3506.
kings of, 1988. *See* Penda, Peada, Wulfhere, Æthelred, Ceolred, Æthelbald, Beornræd, Oswulf, Egferth, Beornwulf, Wiglaf, Boerhtwulf, Burhred, Ceolwulf, Sihtric, Eadward, Cnut.
lady of. *See* Ælfælð.
- Mercians, 2277, Ep. 60.
defeated by West Saxons at Biedanheafod, 1414.
defeated by West Saxons at Burford 1802.

- Mercians—*cont.*
 fight against Danes, 2863.
 make truce with the Danes, 3045.
 ealdorman of. *See* Æthelred.
- Mercien. *See* Mercians.
- Meredunc. *See* Merton.
- Merkeneis. *See* Mercians.
- Merleswain. *See* Mærleswegen.
- Merton, Saxons defeated at, 3011.
- Mescsfeld, 2101, 2096*n*.
- Meserfeld. *See* Maserfeld.
- Middle Saxons, 846.
- Middlesex, Ep. 128.
- Midelsexe. *See* Middlesex.
- Midelsexiens. *See* Middle Saxons.
- Mideltone. *See* Milton.
- Milton, Hæsten builds a fort at, 3434.
- Mirfield, 1290*n*.
- Mirmartin, Eggberht buried at, 1664.
 Constantius buried at, 1664*n*.
- Modred, nephew of Arthur, 526.
 gave land to the Saxons, 12, 4322.
 slain by Arthur, 40.
- Modret. *See* Modred.
- Mol. *See* Mul.
- Mol Edewald. *See* Moll Æthelwald.
- Moll Æthelwald, king of Northumbria,
 1955, 1957.
 death of, 1966.
 son of. *See* Æthelred.
- Montgomery, Roger de, earl of Shrews-
 bury, 5877*n*.
 his son Roger the Poitevin, 5894.
See Muncumeri.
- Morel of Bamburgh, slays Malcolm III.
 at Alnwick, 6121*n*, 6122.
- Morgan. *See* Glamorgan.
- Morkar. *See* Morkere.
- Morkere, earl of Northumbria, made earl
 in place of Tostig, 5125.
 harries Northamptonshire, 5127.
 defends his earldom against Tostig,
 5181.
 joins Hereward, 5461, 5473, pp. 373,
 376, 379.
 dies in prison, 5701.
- Morlei, William de, holds Morpeth Castle,
 6154.
- Morpathe. *See* Morpeth.
- Morpeth, castle of, taken by William II.,
 6151.
- Mortaigne, Retro de, with William II.,
 5907.
- William, count of, with William II.,
 5905.
- Mount Agned (Edinburgh), 934*n*.
- Mowbray, Robert de, earl of Northumber-
 land (1090–5), at battle of Alnwick,
 6115.
 accused of being an accomplice in
 Waltheof's conspiracy, 6129.
 besieged at Bamburgh Castle by
 William II., 6144, 6159.
 escapes, 6165.
 is captured, 6141*n*, 6172*n*, 6173.
 dies in prison, 6176.
- Mul, brother of Ceadwalla of Wessex,
 wages war in Kent, and harries
 Isle of Wight, 1521.
 burnt by Kentishmen, 1526.
 fine paid for burning him, 1557.
- Munbrai. *See* Mowbray.
- Muncumeri, Hugh de, goes to Normandy
 with William II., 5891.
- Munfichet, William de, at death of William
 II., 6400.
- Muref. *See* Murray.
- Murestere (Munster?), duke of, p. 347.
- Murray, in Scotland, Iwain, king of, 6.

N.

- Nechtanemesere, 1496*n*.
- Neimeis. *See* Leneimeis.
- New Castle, the, Northumberland, 6150.
- New Forest, 5801, 6255.
- Nichole. *See* Lincoln.
- Nicole. *See* Lincoln.
- Nidi, Nidin. *See* Judith.
- Ninian, saint, baptized the Piets, 967.
 buried at Whiterne, 971.

- Noreis. *See* Norseman.
 Norfole. *See* Norfolk.
 Norfolk, 4923, Ep. 132, 369.
 Adelbrit, king of, 54.
 Danes in, 897.
 in East Anglia, 1144, Ep. 57.
 Norfolke. *See* Norwich.
 Norhamtone. *See* Northampton.
 Norhantonschire. *See* Northamptonshire.
 Norheis. *See* Norsemen.
 Norhumberland, Norhumberlande. *See*
 Northumberland.
 Norhumberlant. *See* Northumberland.
 Norhumbreis. *See* Northumbrians.
 Normandy, ravaged by Danes, 3242*n*, 3265.
 Æthelred II. flees to, 4129*n*, 4154.
 returns from, 4172.
 his children in, 4203, 4535, 4785.
 William I. visits, 5354, p. 383.
 returns from, 5357.
 William II. visits, 5784*n*.
 he becomes duke of, when Robert goes
 to Crusades, 6205.
 duke Robert returns to, 5773.
 in William II.'s dominion, 5963, 6205.
 governed by Henry, 6210.
 duke of. *See* Richard, William,
 Robert.
 lords of, 5875*n*, 5897.
 Normans, 4129.
 killed by order of Godwine, 4825.
 driven out of England, 5037.
 Castles built by, in England, 5441.
 in England after the conquest, 5471,
 5476, 5529, 5572, 5615, 5657.
 slay Hereward, 5615.
 in the Holy Land, 5762.
 crown William II., 5778.
 ruled hard by William II., 5782.
 at the court of William II., 6011.
 Normant, Normanz. *See* Normans.
 Normendie. *See* Normandy.
 Norreis. *See* Norwegians.
 Norreis. *See* Norsemen.
 Norsemen, victory of, at Fulford, 5216.
 they seize the country, 5218.
 defeated by Harold II., 5224, 5254,
 5260.
 Norsemen---*cont.*
 return home, 5245.
 invade England in William I.'s reign
 5436, 5450.
 Nort Wales. *See* Wales, North.
 Nortfole. *See* Norfolk.
 North, men of, flee before Penda, 1236.
 go against the Danes, 2865.
 Northampton, 4969.
 Northamptonshire, Ep. 147, p. 392.
 harried by earl Morkere, 5128.
 Northumberland, Northumbria, Ep. 71,
 183.
 Ida, first English king of, 930.
 divisions of, 940.
 laid waste by Penda, 1238.
 harried by Æthelbald of Mercia, 1750.
 signs appear in, 2159.
 Danes of, 3392.
 Eadmund I. seizes, 3547.
 seized by Olaf Kvaran, 3551.
 harried by the Scotch, 5086.
 comet seen in, in William I.'s reign,
 5371.
 Hereward goes through, p. 343.
 earl of. *See* Mowbray, Robert.
 kings of. *See* Ida, Æthelferth,
 Oswald, Oswiu, Egferth, Ealdferth,
 Osred, Alchred, Æthelred, Cenred,
 Osric, Eata, Eadberht, Moll Æthel-
 wald, Oswulf, Alfwold, Eardwulf,
 Ælla, Osbryht, Yric.
 Northumbreis. *See* Northumbrians.
 Northumbrians, 1312, 1392.
 burn Beorn, a lord, 2033.
 kill Æthelred their king, 2173.
 expel Eardwulf their king, 2225.
 drive out Olaf Kvaran, 3554.
 submit to Swegen, 4142*n*.
 take York, 5420*n*.
 Norwaleis. *See* Welsh, North.
 Norway, Swegen's bones carried to, 4165.
 Cnut conquers, 4686.
 Harold Hardrada, king of, 5195.
 Olaf, king of, 4687-4694.
 Biern, king of, p. 343.
 Norwegians, kill their king Olaf, 4692.
 Norweie. *See* Norway.

Norwich, taken by Swegen, 4142*n*.
 occupied by Normans, p. 390.
 bishopric of, Ep. 133.
 Nostell, Alfwold, king of Northumberland,
 buried at, 2113.
 Nostle. *See* Nostell.
 Nothhelm, 1767*n*.
 Nottingham. *See* Nottingham.
 Nottingham, taken by the Danes, 2841.
 retaken by Ælfred, 2854.
 one of the Seven Burghs, 4222*n*.
 William I. at, 5379.
 Nottinghamshire, Ep. 171.
 None Forest. *See* New Forest.
 Noule Forest. *See* New Forest.
 Nun. *See* Iona.
 Nun. *See* Nunna.
 Nunna, deposes Geraint, 1629.

O.

Ockley, Surrey, Danes defeated at, 2475.
 Odulf, king of Denmark, 510, 527, 739,
 H. 42, 81, 850, 932, 935, 946.
 slays Gunter, king of Denmark, H.
 35, 599.
 gives the land to Arthur, H. 38.
 Arthur makes him king of Denmark,
 H. 601.
 conquered and slain by Haveloc, 712.
 H. 962.
 Offa, Offe, son of Æthelferth of North-
 umbria, 1166.
 Offa, Offe, king of the East Saxons, 1612.
 Offa, Offe, king of Mercia (755-96), 1930,
 2133, 2175, 2387.
 drives out Beornred, 1929.
 takes Bensington, 2009.
 divides archbishopric of Canterbury,
 2056*n*.
 marries his daughter Eadburg to
 Beohtric, 2063.
 Offa—*cont.*
 defies the Danes, 2169.
 dies, 2205.
 his son. *See* Egferth.
 Ogger, knight of William I., p. 400.
 Olaf, Danish king, driven out by
 Eadmund I., 3536, 3537.
 Olaf Kvaran, seizes Northumberland, 3550.
 holds it three years, 3554.
 driven out, 3555.
 Olaf, king of Norway, driven out by
 Cnut, 4687.
 returns, 4690.
 killed in battle by the Norwegians,
 4694.
 Olaf, son of Harold Hardrada, 5239*n*.
 Oreadere Island, p. 353.
 Ordgar, ealdorman, father of queen
 Ælfhryth, 3601, 3605, 3608, 3629,
 3639, 3652, 3655, 3686, 3725.
 Orewain. *See* Orwain.
 Orewen. *See* Orwain.
 Orgar, Alwinus, son of, monk of Ely,
 p. 391.
 Orgar. *See* Ordgar.
 Orgarus, temp. Will. I., p. 379.
 Orkenau. *See* Orkney.
 Orkencie. *See* Orkney.
 Orkney, men of, slay king Egferth
 1496.
 Copsi comes from, 5167.
 Orum, nephew of Ælla, king of North-
 umbria, 2751-2817.
 his death foretold by a blind man,
 2750.
 attempts to fly from a tower, 2782.
 is killed, 2815.
 Orwain, queen of Adelbrit, 63, 83, 90,
 H. 207, H. 231, H. 233.
 Osbern. *See* Asbiörn.
 Osbern, son of earl Siward, slain in
 Scotland, 5055, 5060.
 Osbern de Bolebee, 6084*n*.
 Osbernus, companion of Hereward, p.
 373.
 Osbert, sheriff, p. 382.
 Osberth. *See* Osbryht

- Osbreth. *See* Osbryht.
 Osbryht, king of Northumbria, 2606–2746.
 insults wife of Beorn Butsecarl 2622.
 Beorn defies him, 2682.
 is deposed, 2700.
 killed by the Danes, 2723, 2746.
 Oschetel. *See* Oskytel.
 Oseredum, an inhabitant of Bourne, p. 365.
 Oseriz. *See* Osric.
 Osewald, Osewalt. *See* Oswald, Alfwold.
 Osfrid. *See* Osfrith.
 Osfrith, son of Eadwine of Northumbria, killed in battle against Penda, 1235.
 Oskytel, Danish king, 3071.
 besieges Cambridge, 3075.
 takes Wareham, 3082.
 Oslac, duke, p. 341.
 Oslac, son of Æthelfrith, 1161*n*.
 Oslaf, thane of Æthelberht of Kent, killed, 980.
 Oslaf, son of Æthelferth of Northumbria, 1165.
 Osred I., king of Northumbria (705–16), 1571, 1643.
 Osred II., king of Northumbria (789–92), 2125.
 exiled, 2127.
 returns, 2135.
 killed, 2137.
 buried at Tynemouth, 2139.
 Osret. *See* Osred.
 Osroth. *See* Osred.
 Osric, king of York (Deira), 1260, 1315.
 Osric, king of Northumbria, 1649, 1723.
 Osric, caldorman, fights against the Danes, 2451, 2453, 2552, 2555, 2557.
 Osriz. *See* Osric.
 Ostrut. *See* Ostrythe.
 Ostrythe, queen of Mercia, 1590.
 Oslulf. *See* Oswulf.
 Oswald, king of Northumbria (634–42), 1270, 1307, 1324, 2096*n*, 2315.
 son of king Æthelferth, 1162.
 made king, 1262.
 Oswald—*cont.*
 killed by Penda at Maserfield, 1290.
 buried at Bardney, 1293.
 relics of, 1295, 1297, 2110*n*, 2117*n*.
 succeeded by his brother, 1311.
 Oswald, Ætheling, 1728.
 Oswi, Oswy. *See* Oswiu.
 Oswine, king of Deira (644–51), 1313, 1317.
 disinterred at Tynemouth by bishop Ægelwine, 5108.
 Oswine. *See* Æscwine.
 Oswine, Ætheling, 1967*n*, 1969.
 Oswiu, king of Northumbria (642–70), 1307, 2315.
 son of king Æthelferth, 1163.
 kills Penda at Wingfield, 1325.
 dies, 1391.
 Oswude, Oswudn, son of Æthelferth, of Northumbria, 1164.
 Oswulf, king of Northumbria, 1942–5.
 Otford, battle at, 1989.
 Otteford. *See* Otford.
 Oundle, St. Wilfrith died at, 1616.
 Ou. *See* Ea.
 Ouse river, Danes at, 2186, 2590.
 Tostig's and Harold Hardrada's fleet in, 5209.
 bridge over, at York, p. 329
 Ouse, vale of, 2609.
 Outi, comrade of Hereward, pp. 372, 373.
 Outi, another, p. 373.
 Oxeneford. *See* Oxford.
 Oxford, Ep. 197.
 given up to Eadward I. by Æthered, king of Mercia, 3486.
 Edmund killed at, 4410*n*.
 Harold II. at, 5076.
 book of, used by Gaimar, 6464.
 Walter, archdeacon of, 6465.
 Oxfordshire, Ep. 150.
 Oxneford. *See* Oxford.

P.

Paggle, Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne, buried at, 1376.

Paitevin. *See* Poitevin.

Pangar. *See* Bangor.

Parret, river, Danes defeated at mouth of, 2455.

Paulinus, archbishop of York, comes to England, 1027, 1050.

baptises Eadwine of Northumbria, 1046, 1200.

archbishop of York, 1209.

flees, 1239.

is made bishop of Rochester by Eadbald, 1252.

Pavia, Ethelswith, sister of Alfred the Great, buried at, 3335.

Peada, Peade, king of Mercia, 1336-43.

Pedredan. *See* Petherton.

Pedredan. *See* Parret, river.

Peiters. *See* Poitiers.

Peitevin. *See* Poitevin.

Peiz. *See* Poix.

Pen, battle at, 1346.

Penda, king of Mercia (626-54), 1211, 1234, 2096*n*, 2099.

fight with Cwichelm and Cynegils, 1213.

slays Oswald, king of Northumbria, 1291.

is killed by Oswin, king of Northumbria, at Wingfield, 1326.

drives out Wulfhere, 1351.

his son. *See* Peada.

Pendan, Pentan, Pentat. *See* Penda.

Penwood, Ubba killed in, 3148.

Peonnm. *See* Pen.

Pere, seint. *See* Peter, saint.

Peres. *See* Peter.

Persia, sultan of, 5755*n*

Peter, St., 1208, 1661.

appears to Laurentius, 1115.

appears to Hereward, p. 395.

Peter, baptised name of Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, 1534.

Peterborough, Hereward in woods near, p. 392.

Peterborough—*cont.*

earl Raulf buried at, 5069.

abbey sacked by Hereward, 5557, 5570, p. 395.

abbey, relics at, 2117*n*.

MSS. belonging to, 1274*n*, 4937*n*.

monks of, 1297*n*, 2117*n*.

Brant, abbot of, p. 368.

Turolfus, abbot of, pp. 393, 394, 395.

Petherton, Somerset, Wulfhere, king of Mercia, pursues Britons from Pen to, 1318.

Pietais, Pictiens, Picteis, Pictes. *See* Picts.

Pietavis. *See* Poitiers.

Picts, p. 345.

attacked by Saxons, 19.

St. Columba lives among, 964.

Ninian baptised, 968.

also called Westmaringiens, 970.

expelled bishop Trumbyht, 1493*n*.

Egferth killed by, 1496*n*.

Beorht killed by, 1593.

Beorhtfrith fights with, 1626.

Healfdene, Danish king, fights against, 3068.

defeated by Ethelstan at Brunanburh, 3526.

hostile to Eadmund, 4117.

Poitevin. *See* Montgomery, Roger; Giffard, Walter.

Poitiers, Hereward at, p. 356.

dominion of William II. extended to, 5967.

William II. intends to hold his feast at, 6296, 6301.

Poix, castle of, Walter Tirel's, 6261.

Pol, Sen. *See* Saint Paul.

Pontesbury, battle at, 1357.

Ponthieu, Danes go to, 3267.

earl of. *See* Belesme, Robert de.

Pontil. *See* Ponthieu.

Pontivagus. *See* Seafar.

Pontoise (Pontesia), p. 356.

Poreestre. *See* Porchester.

Porchester, 4551.

Portesmuc. *See* Portsmouth.

Portsmouth, battle at, 2026.

Præn, name of Eadberht of Kent, 2181*n*.

Préaux, abbey of, Normandy, 5875*n*.
 Privett, Hants, 1825*n*.
 Pryfetestlod. *See* Privett.
 Punt de la Bataille. *See* Bridge of
 Battle.
 Pynkenni, vicecomes de, p. 370.

Q.

Quintelin, Quintelm. *See* Cwichehm.
 Quizeleine, Quizeline. *See* Cwichehm.
 Quinzeheline. *See* Cwichehm.

R.

Raculue. *See* Reculver.
 Rædwald, king of East Anglia, 1146, 2308.
 kills Æthelferth, king of Northum-
 bria, 1143.
 Ragnald, half-Danish king, 3508-3538.
 wins York, 3508.
 driven out by Eadmund I., 3538.
 Ralph the Staller, count, p. 341.
 Ramsey, Rapenaldus, steward of, pp.
 373, 394.
 Rapendone. *See* Repton.
 Rapenaldus, steward of Ramsey, pp. 373,
 394.
 Rattlebones, supposed Danish chief,
 4231*n*.
 Raul. *See* Raulf.
 Raulf, earl, 5066.
 Raven, war flag of Ubba, taken, 3158.
 Reading, Danes at, 2934, 2939, 3017,
 3043.
 Æthelred and Ælfred go to meet them
 at, 2957.
 Readwald, Readwalt. *See* Rædwald.
 Reche, fovea de (Reachload? Camb.),
 p. 382.
 Reculver, 1390, 1547.
 Red king, surname of William II., 6248.
 Redinges. *See* Reading.
 Redwold. *See* Rædwald.
 Renald. *See* Ragnald.
 Rependone. *See* Repton.
 Repton, Derbysh. Æthelbald, king of
 Mercia, buried at, 1923.
 Danes winter at, 3049, 3067.
 Richard I., duke of Normandy, 6084*n*.
 Richard II., duke of Normandy, 4131.
 gives Emma, his sister, to Æthelred
 II., 4127, 4136.
 receives Æthelred, Emma, and their
 sons in Normandy, 4156.
 brings up children of Æthelred, 4205,
 4535.
 Richard, nephew of sheriff Osbert, p. 382.
 Richemunt. *See* Richmond.
 Richmond (Yorkshire), given by William I.
 to earl Alan of Brittany, 5325.
 Ricolan, Ricole, sister of Æthelberht, king
 of Kent, 1076.
 Ripon, St. Wilfrith buried at, 1617.
 Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, driven
 out of England, 5039.
 Robert, son of William I., duke of Nor-
 mandy, 5743, 5745, 5899*n*.
 takes Jerusalem, 5752.
 slays Curbarant, 5755.
 becomes king of Antioch, 5760.
 makes Godfrey de Bouillon king of
 Jerusalem, 5770.
 marries Sibilla of Conversano, and
 returns to Normandy, 5772.
 gives Normandy to William II., while
 at Crusades, 6206, 6208.
 Robert, earl of Gloucester, 6449, 6454.
 had Welsh history translated, 6449.
 Robert, earl of Mellent, goes to Normandy
 with William II., 5875.
 Robert Fitz Hamon, at death of William
 II., 6357, 6395.
 Robert, son of earl of Clare, 6350*n*.
 Rochemabille, France, 5882*n*, 5884.
 Roche Mabilie. *See* Rochemabille.
 Rochester, Danes at, 2421.
 bishopric of, Ep. 38, 98.
 Justus, bishop of, 1067, 1137.

Rochester—*cont.*

Romanus, bishop of, 1140.

Paulinus, bishop of, 1252.

Rockingham, Northants, 4139.
castle, p. 402.

Rodbritus, Flemish general, p. 360.

Roger, earl, son of William Fitz Osbert,
earl of Hereford, conspiracy of,
5725.

Roger, earl, son of Roger de Montgomery,
5893, 5894.

Roger, lord, son of the earl of Clare, present
at William II.'s death, 6350*n*, 6351.

Rogingham. *See* Rockingham.

Rom, Rome. *See* Rouen.

Romain, Romanus, bishop of Rochester,
1139.

Rome, 6242, H. 367, p. 379.

pallium brought from, 1048.

legates from, 2057.

St. Wilfrith goes to, 1457.

Ceadwalla of Wessex goes to, 1531.

Ine of Wessex dies at, 1542.

Cenred of Mercia and Offa of the
East Saxons go to, 1611.

Daniel, bishop of the west Saxons
goes to, 1685.

Ine goes to, 1710.

Æthelwulf goes to, 2518.

Burhred of Mercia goes to, dies, and
is buried at, 3055, 3058, 3060.

Æthelswith, Ælfred's sister, goes to,
3332.

St. David goes to, Ep. 222.

Cnut goes to, 4727.

earl Tostig goes to, 5099.

William II. going to, 5972.

English school at, 3057, 3350, 4739.

St. Mary's Minster at, 3057.

emperors of, 1761, 6472.

popes of. *See* Adrian, Gregory,
Marinus, Vitalianus.

Romsey abbey, Hants, 4516*n*.

Roteland, Rotelande, Rotelant. *See* Rut-
land.

Rothewelle, Goyinus of, and Tosti of,
companions of Hereward, p. 373.

Rotro of Mortaigne, joins William II. in
Normandy, 5907.

Roncestre, Roucestre. *See* Rochester.

Rouen, William II. goes to, 5926.

Robert de Belesme has streets in,
5885.

Rus Rei. *See* William II.

Russia, 4583.

Rutland, 51, 1597, H. 198.

part of Emma's dower, 4139.

S.

Sabure. *See* Sebrug.

Sæberht, king of Essex, converted by
Mellitus, 1071.

his sons, 1028*n*.

Saham. *See* Soham.

Saint Bertin, Flanders, p. 353.

St. David's, Wales, bishopric of, Ep. 211.

St. Lo, Brittany, 3308*n*.

S. Odmarus. *See* S. Omer.

St. Olaf in Norway, Swege's bones buried
at, 4166.

St. Omer, pp. 356, 370.

St. Paul's. *See* London.

St. Peter's minster. *See* York.

St. Peter's Pence, 4738.

Saint Rieher. *See* St. Riquier.

St. Riquier, Normandy, desecrated by
Danes, 3269.

St. Valery, Normandy, wasted by Danes,
3266.

' a knight of, p. 356.

Saint Vincent, altar of, at Winchester,
1080.

Saint Wilfrei. *See* St. Wilfrid's.

St. Wilfrid's, Tostig's and Harold Har-
drada's fleet at, 5210.

Saissions. *See* Saxons.

- Saiswold, companion of Hereward, 5575.
 Salesbire. *See* Salisbury.
 Salesbires, Salesbiri. *See* Salisbury.
 Salesbiries. *See* Salisbury.
 Salesbyres. *See* Salisbury.
 Salisbury, Ceawlin and Cynric fight against the Britons at, 923.
 Eadgar I.'s court at, 3838.
 in Eadmund's kingdom, 4390.
 bishopric of, 1586, Ep. 49, 110.
 Salomon, king of Hungary, 4587*n*.
 Salopescyre. *See* Shropshire.
 Sandwich, Danes gain a victory at, 2429.
 Danes are defeated at, 2480.
 Tostig's descent at, 5161*n*.
 Sanwiz. *See* Sandwich.
 Sarthe, river, France, William II. crosses, 5786.
 Sarum, Old, 925*n*.
 Saverne. *See* Severn.
 Saxiens. *See* Saxons.
 Saxons, invading England, 9, 25, 883, 2025, 2082, Ep. 23, 225.
 settled in England, 918, 921, 1035, 1100, 2024, 2028, 3012, Ep. 116, 260.
 East, 846.
 Middle, 846.
 South, 845, 1368, 1707.
 West, 845, 1411, 1540, 1712, 1760, 1766, 2342, 2476, 2940.
 See also Wessex.
 Saxony. *See* Saxons.
 Scaldemarlund, pp. 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 367.
 Scalre, surname of count Ralph, p. 341.
 Scantland, 3308 (*see note*).
 Schaftebirie. *See* Shaftesbury.
 Schaftebire. *See* Shaftesbury.
 Schireburne. *See* Sherborne.
 Scorham, Ceawlin and Cutha kill three British kings at 989, (*see note*).
 Scotch, Scots, p. 345.
 attacked by Saxons, 19.
 Ægthan, king of, attacks Æthelferth of Northumbria, 1012.
 defeated at Dawston, 1016, 1020.
 Scotch—*cont.*
 Ceowulf wars with, 1036.
 Egferth, king of Northumbria, sends army against, 1480.
 defeated by Æthelstan at Brunanburh, 3525.
 subject to Eadmund I., 3548.
 subject to Eadgar I., 3572.
 hostile to Eadmund, 4117.
 harry Northumberland, 5085.
 treat with England, 5720.
 Scotland, harried by Æthelstan, 3522.
 Eadgar Ætheling and Margaret driven to, 4659.
 Cnut goes to, 4748.
 Mærleswegen goes to, 4937*n*.
 Siward invades, 5044, 5060.
 Tostig goes to, 5191.
 Ægelwine and Siward Barn go to, 5459.
 William II. sends an army to, 6181.
 kings of, Ep. 74. *See* Ægthan, Macbeth, Malcolm, Eadgar.
 Seafar, name of Aernulfus, p. 329.
 Seaxburg. *See* Sexburh.
 Sebilie. *See* Sibilla.
 Sebrug, wife of Grim, 370, H. 542, 558.
 Sees. *See* Sééz.
 Sééz, Normandy, William II. takes army to, 5784.
 belonged to Robt. de Belesme, 5883.
 Seibert. *See* Sæberht.
 Seint Davi. *See* St. David's.
 Seint Galeris. *See* St. Valery.
 Seis. *See* Sééz.
 Seisue. *See* Saxons.
 Seissoigne. *See* Saxons.
 Seissun. *See* Saxons.
 Seisun, Seisuns. *See* Saxons.
 Seletun. *See* Silton.
 Selewode. *See* Selwood.
 Selred, king of Essex, 1787.
 Selwood, Somerset, 3167.
 Serpents, miraculous, seen in Sussex, 1991.
 Sesoigne, Sessoigne. *See* Saxons.
 Sessions. *See* Saxons.

- Sessuneis, Robert de Belesme, earl of, 5882.
- Seven Burghs, 4222*n*.
- Severn, river, Cerdic conquers as far as, 867, 870.
- the Saxons cross, 892.
- host from the Lidwiceas spread along, 3492.
- Eadmund Ironside received beyond, 4223.
- Cnut and Eadmund meet in a boat on, 4269, 4290.
- the French cross, Ep. 231.
- Sexbure, Sexburg, Sexburh, wife of Ercenberht, king of Kent, 1281, 1406.
- Shaftesbury, Dorset, Eadward Martyr buried at, 4075.
- his saddle there, 4043*n*.
- Shaftesbury, Eadward of. *See* Eadward II. Martyr.
- Sheppey, Danes in, 2359, 2510.
- Sherborne, Dorset. Æthelbald, son of Æthelwulf, buried at, 2539.
- Æthelbryht, buried at, 2545.
- Heahmund, bishop of, 3013*n*.
- Sherstone, Wilts, earl Thorkytel defeats Eadmund Ironside at, 4231.
- Shitriz. *See* Sihtric.
- Shrewsbury, 5877*n*.
- Shropshire, Ep. 163.
- Sibald. *See* Sigbald.
- Sibilla of Conversana, wife of Robert, duke of Normandy, 5772.
- Siega, beheads Alfwold of Northumberland, 2100.
- dies, 2167.
- Sidrac. *See* Sidroe.
- Sidroe, Danish earl, killed at Englefield, 3954.
- Sidroe, earl, the old, a Dane, killed at battle of Ashdown, 2986, 3004.
- Sidroe, the young, a Dane at battle of Ashdown, 2987.
- Siebrand, Siebrant. *See* Sigebryht.
- Siebriz. *See* Sigebryht.
- Sienbrith. *See* Sigebryht.
- Sigar Estalre, steward to Gunter, king of Denmark, 506 721, II. 44, 631-929.
- causes Haveloc to be watched when sleeping, 629, H. 830.
- causes Haveloc to blow Gunter's horn, 7 09, II. 893.
- declares Haveloc to be heir of Denmark, 721, II. 910.
- Sigar Lestal, Sigar the Staller. *See* Sigar Estalre.
- Sigbald, killed, 1633.
- Sigebryht, king of Wessex, 1809, 1894, 1903*n*.
- driven out by Cynewulf, 1816, 1825, 1833.
- slain in Andredesweald, 1825*n*, 1828.
- his brother. *See* Cyneheard.
- Sigeferth, a thane of the Seven Burghs, 4222.
- Sigerie, archbishop of Canterbury, 4099.
- Sigge. *See* Siega.
- Sihtric, king of Mercia, slays his brother Niel, 3501.
- is slain by Eadward I., 3505.
- Sihtriz. *See* Sihtric.
- Silehester, Hants, 1664*n*.
- Silton, Yorks, Beorn burned at, by Northumbrians, 2031.
- Sippenham. *See* Chippenham.
- Sirye. *See* Sigerie.
- Siward, earl, at Godwine's trial, 4919, 4932.
- speaks against Godwine, 4951.
- agrees with Maebeth, 5043.
- defeats Maebeth, 5051.
- dies, 5061.
- Siward Barn, nephew of earl Siward, slain in Scotland, 5056, 5060.
- Siward Barn, joins rebellion against William I., 5458.
- Siward the White, nephew of Hereward, pp. 347, 357, 364, 370, 373, 395.
- Siward the Red, nephew of Hereward, pp. 347, 364, 370, 373.
- Siward, one of the above, p. 383.
- Siwerd Barn. *See* Siward Barn.
- Siwate, comrade of Hereward, p. 340.
- Snanedun. *See* Snowdon.

- Snowdon, city, Wales, Ep. 206.
 Soham, Camb., p. 392.
 Somerset, Somersete, 4006, Ep. 112.
 men of, fight against the Danes, 2454,
 3169.
 Somersham, Hunts (?), p. 387.
 Somerton, Somertone, seized by Æthel-
 bald, king of Mercia, 1731.
 Sonnois, in France, 5882*n*.
 Sorte. *See* Sarthe.
 South Saxons, 845, 1368, 1707.
 Southampton, Danes land at, 2396.
 William II. sails from, 5825.
 Southumbria, extent of, 1595.
 Cenred, king of, 1594.
 Eggbryht reigns over, 2346.
 Stamford, one of the Seven Burghs, 4222*n*,
 Ep. 168, H. 198.
 Hereward attacks, and is repulsed at,
 5563, 5570.
 his men led by a wolf to, p. 396.
 Stamford Bridge, battle of, 5237.
 Stanford. *See* Stamford.
 Startulfusi, companion of Hereward,
 p. 392.
 Stuntney, Camb., p. 392.
 Stephen, king of Hungary, 4587*n*, 4796*n*.
 Stotfold hundred, Northants, 4963*n*.
 Strathelyde, 3069*n*.
 Streanaeshaleh. *See* Whitby.
 Stréclued, king of Galloway, 3069 (*see*
 note).
 Sudbury, Suff., p. 390.
 Sudeine. *See* Surrey.
 Sudfolke. *See* Suffolk.
 Sudhamptonescire. *See* Hampshire.
 Sndreie. *See* Surrey.
 Sndreis. *See* Surrey, men of.
 Sudrie. *See* Surrey.
 Sudsexe. *See* Sussex.
 Suffolk, 1144, Ep. 58, Ep. 131.
 Sumerled, Scotch thane, 3016*n*.
 Sumerlede the Great, a Dane, 3016, 3017
 (*see* note).
 Somersete. *See* Somerset.
 Sumresham (Somersham), p. 387.
 Sunheart. *See* Swebheard.
 Surois [Surrey ?], H. 201.
 Surrey, Ep. 103, H. 201 (?).
 Æthelbeht, king of, 956.
 Ine warring in, 1702.
 Eggbryht, king of, 2269.
 Æthelstan, king of, 2392.
 Danes in, 2471.
 men of, fight against Danes, 2500.
 Æthelbryht, king of, 2535.
 Susie. *See* Russia.
 Sussex, Ep., 39, 99.
 Ine of Wessex, wars in, 1702.
 miraculous serpents seen in, 1993.
 Eggbryht, king of, 2269.
 Ælla, king of, 2303.
 Æthelstan, king of, 2392.
 Æthelbryht, king of, 2534.
 Harold II. in, 5261.
 Sutfole. *See* Suffolk.
 Suthdreie. *See* Surrey.
 Suthsexe. *See* Sussex.
 Suthsexiens. *See* South Saxons.
 Suthsexol. *See* South Saxons.
 Suthumbreis. *See* Southumbria.
 Suthwaleis. *See* Welsh, South.
 Sutraie. *See* Surrey.
 Sutsexe. *See* Sussex.
 Svain, Svein. *See* Swegen.
 "Swafham," a cartulary of Peterborough,
 4937*n*.
 Swain. *See* Swegen.
 Swallow, Hereward's mare, pp. 363, 385.
 Swaue. *See* Sweden.
 Swebheard, king of Kent, 1551.
 Sweden, king of, 4570*n*.
 king of, killed by Godwine, 4897.
 Swegen, Svein, king of Denmark, comes to
 England, 4142.
 Uhtred, earl of Lindsey submits to,
 4146.
 meets with no resistance, 4152.
 goes to Gainsborough, 4159.
 his death, 4159*n*.
 buried in St. Peter's at York, 4162,
 4167.
 his body taken to Norway by Danes,
 4165.
 his son. *See* Cnut,

Swegen III., king of Denmark, sends his three sons to invade England, 5131.

his sons, 5408, 5431, 5434*n*.

his brother. *See* Ashiorn.

Sweins. *See* Swegen.

Swithun, saint, 3972. *See* Winchester.

Sydroc. *See* Sidroc.

Sygar. *See* Sgar.

Syward. *See* Siward.

T.

Taillebois, Ivo, pp. 384, 393, 401, 402.

Taillefer, French minstrel at battle of Hastings, 5273-5306, 5279*n*.

Tamise. *See* Thames.

Tanet, Taneteis, Taneth. *See* Thanet.

Tanez. *See* Thanet.

Tantone. *See* Taunton.

Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury, 1740.

Taunton, works there built by Ine of Wessex, and destroyed by Æthelburh his Queen, 1691, 1693.

Tavistock, 3605*n*.

Taw, river, 3148*n*, 5405*n*.

Teford. *See* Thetford.

Telbald. *See* Theobald.

Teodorie. *See* Theodore.

Tettenhall, Staff. Eadward I. defeats the Danes at, 3476.

Thames, boundary of Southumbria, 1600.
boundary between kingdoms of Cmt,
and Eadmund Ironside, 4371, 4385.
boundary of bishopric of Lincoln, Ep.
154.

Baldred, king of Kent, driven across,
2266.

Danes in, 2488, 3432, 4186.

tower beside, 4460.

Thames—*cont.*

Cnut rebukes, 4699.

Godwine enters, 4870.

Thanet, in Cuthred's kingdom, 2224.

Ceorl, caldorman, pursues Danes to,
2458, 2462.

Danes in, 2502, 2561.

Tostig attacks, 5164.

Thetford, battle of Haveloe and Edelsi at,
H. 1027.

Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury,
4738*n*.

Theobald, brother of Æthelferth, killed,
1018.

Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (668-
90), 1380*n*, 1388, 1395.

consecrates St. Cuthbert bishop of
Hexham, 1487.

dies, 1545.

Theodur. *See* Theodore.

Thetford, Adelbriht king of Norfolk, dies
at, 80.

Danes at, 2866.

Gnthorm, Danish king, buried at,
3383.

Normans at, p. 390.

bishopric at, Ep. 134.

Thored, son of Gunner, rebels against
king Eadgar, 3585.

Thorkell, son of Svein, 4937*n*.

Thorkytel, Danish earl, defeats Eadmund
Ironside at Sherstone, 4229.

Thuede. *See* Tweed.

Thueffort. *See* Thetford.

Thuetenhale. *See* Tettenhall.

Thniforde. *See* Twyford.

Tiford. *See* Thetford.

Tine. *See* Tyne.

Tinemue. *See* Tynemouth.

Tiret, Walter, 6258-6334, 6432.

his possessions in France, 6260.

flatters William II., 6275.

shoots William II., 6332.

escapes, 6334.

Tobian, Tobias, bishop of Rochester, 1553.

Torel. *See* Thored.

Torkescie. *See* Torksey.

Torksey, Linc., Danes winter at, 3048.

Tosti, Tostig, earl, son of Godwine, 5062-5232, p. 379.
 succeeds Siward as earl of Northumbria, 5062.
 with Harold, subdues Wales, 5075, 5082.
 goes to Scotland, 5090.
 goes to Rome, 5099.
 returns, 5115.
 expelled from his earldom and goes to Flanders, 5120, 5131.
 invades England, 5159, 5161*n*.
 goes to Scotland, 5191, 5193.
 makes agreement with Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, 5199.
 slain by Harold II. at Stamford Bridge, 5232.

Tosti, Tostig, son of Swegen III., king of Denmark, invades England, 5406, 5408.

Tostig, earl (the above ?), pp. 376, 379.

Tosti de Danenesse, companion of Hereward, p. 373.

Tosti de Rothewelle, companion of Hereward, p. 373.

Toteneis. *See* Totness.

Totness, Ep. 179.
 end of the Foss, 4374*n*, Ep. 272.

Trailli, Nicholas de, 6482.

Trent, (Treute,) river, battle at, 1464.

Troie. *See* Troy.

Troy, history of, written by Gaimar, 6528.

Trumbyhrt, bishop of Hexham, 1493.

Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne, 1374, 1376*n*.

Turbertinus, great grandson of earl Edwin, with Hereward, p. 373.

Turchil. *See* Thorkytel.

Turchitell, surnamed Puer, companion of Hereward, pp. 379, 381.

Turfrida, wife of Hereward, pp. 356, 364, 371, 397, 398.
 becomes a nun at Crowland, p. 398.

Turkillus, companion of Hereward, pp. 373, 381 *See* Turchitell.

Turolodus, abbot of Peterborough, pp. 303, 394, 395.

Turstan, abbot of Ely, pp. 374, 395.

U 51689.

Turstanus, Præpositus, companion of Hereward, p. 383.

Tutbury, Raul de Dol of, 5687.

Tweed, river, 5092.

Twyford, Berks, 2964*n*.
 Danes turn back from pursuing the English at, 2969.

Tyne, river, Eadwine king beyond, 2312.
 William I. lays waste as far as, 5452.

Tynemouth, Northumb., Osred, king of Northumbria buried at, 2139.
 St. Oswine buried at, 5111.
 Robt. de Mowbray at, 6169.

Tynemue. *See* Tynemouth.

U.

Ubba, Ubbe, Danish king, p. 328.
 takes Nottingham, 2841.
 martyrs St. Edmund, 2896, 2931.
 killed in Penwood, 3149.
 his flag, the Raven, 3158.

Ubbelawe, mound made by Danes over Ubba, 3152.

Uble. *See* Ubba.

Uctreid. *See* Uhtred.

Uhtred, earl of Lindsey, submits to Swegen, 4142*n*, 4145.

Uleus Ferreus, a giant slain by Hereward, p. 345.

Ulf, jarl, 4797*n*.

Undele. *See* Oundle.

Unlaf. *See* Olaf.

Urien, Iwain's father, 1*n*.

Usa. *See* Ouse.

Use. *See* Ouse.

Ustace. *See* Eustace.

Utlac, or Utlamhe, Hereward's cook, pp. 373, 402.

T

V.

- Velcase, people near Hungary, 4790.
 Villicus de Draitone, companion of Here-
 ward, p. 373.
 Vitalianus, pope (658-72), 1387.
 Vortiporius, 35*n*.

W.

- Waers, Raul, earl of (Ralph Gunder,
 earl of Norfolk), 5722, p. 390.
 Walchere, bishop of Durham, 5453.
 Waleis. *See* Welsh.
 Wales, description of, Ep. 203.
 Britons driven towards, 887.
 invaded by Ine and Nunna, 1631.
 harried by Eegbryht, 2235.
 Harold and Tostig subdue, 5078.
 kings of, 3871, 3930, 4222, 6006.
 See Geraint, Griffith.
 Wales, North, given by William II. to
 Hugh, earl of Chester, 6043.
 king of. *See* Griffith.
 Wales, West (Cornwall), 2370. *See*
 Welsh.
 Walgar, Danish earl, Edmund Ironside's
 two sons entrusted to, 4506.
 takes them to Denmark, 4515.
 takes them to Hungary, 4574, 4619.
 Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, at funeral
 of William II., 6421.
 Wallief. *See* Waltheof.
 Waltheof, earl, conspires against William
 I., 5725.
 is beheaded, 5728, 6139.
 buried at Croyland, 5733.
 miracles wrought by, 5736.
 Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, possessor
 of a history, 6465.
 Walzeier. *See* Walchere.
 Wansbeck, river, Northumberland, 6153.
 Wansborough, battle at, 1641.
 Wardstane, earl Tostig and Flemings land
 at, 5161.
 Wareham, Dorset, Beorhtric, king of
 Wessex, buried at, 2053.
 taken by Danes, 3081.
 Warene, earl William, pp. 369, 374, 375,
 376, 379, 402.
 Frederick, his brother, p. 369, 374.
 Warewic. *See* Warwick.
 Warham. *See* Wareham.
 Warwelle. *See* Wherwell.
 Warwick, Ep. 198.
 earl of. *See* Morkere.
 Warwickshire, Ep. 167, p. 392.
 Washingborough. book of (English
 history), 6469.
 Wasing, king, 901, 920.
 killed by Cynric, 915.
 Waslin, Wasling. *See* Wasing.
 Wassingbure. *See* Washingborough.
 Wathlingstrete. *See* Watling street.
 Watling street, 4374*n*, 4377, Ep. 265.
 Wayleigh, 1376*n*.
 Wearmouth, Durham, Bede dies at, 1744.
 Egferth's monastery at, 2187*n*.
 Wedmore, Somerset, Ælfred and Guthorm
 at, 3229.
 Welle, Linc.?, p. 391.
 English outlaws at, 5463.
 Wells, bishopric of, Ep. 114.
 Welsh, attacked by Saxons, 20.
 Cuthred of Wessex and Æthelbald of
 Mercia defeat, 1770, 1773.
 Cuthred is defeated by, 1804.
 defeated at Kempsford, 2217-2222.
 kill Iudecan, king of Mercia, 2292.
 defeated by Æthelstan at Brunan-
 burh, 3526.
 subject to Eadgar I., 3572.
 hostile to Æthelred II., 4109, 4118.
 friendly with Eadmund, 4221, 4249.
 submit to Harold, 5084.
 driven out by the French (Normans),
 Ep. 231.
 their revenge and threats, Ep. 241.
 Welsh books, 6451, 6461.
 Welsh, North, submit to Eegbryht, 2354.
 subdued by Æthelwulf, 2496.

- Welsh, South, defeat Griffith, king of North Wales, 5079.
 Welsh, West, 2371.
 Welsh of Strathclyde, 3069*n*. See Wales.
 Wembury (?), Devon, Danes at, 2461.
 Wenothus, Wenotus, comrade of Hereward, pp. 372, 382, 383, 398.
 Wenpiz. See Wansbeck.
 Weohstan, 2217*n*.
 Wereburch. See Werburh.
 Werburh, wife of Ceolred, 2039-44.
 buried at Chester, 2042.
 works miracles, 2044.
 Werburh, daughter of Wulfhere of Mercia, 2042*n*.
 Weremude. See Wearmouth.
 Werlame. See Warcham.
 Wessex, description of, Ep. 41.
 battles in, 1191, 3025.
 harried by Æthelbald, king of Mercia, 1730.
 in Eadwine's kingdom, 2314.
 Danes in, 3025, 3128.
 the host of, 3084.
 Eadmund's share in the division with Cnut, 4383*n*.
 kings of, Ep. 79. See Æscwine, Ceolwulf, Cyneiguls, Cenwalh, Centwine, Ine, Æthelheard, Cuthred, Cutha, Ceawlin, Cynewulf, Beorhtric, Ecgbryht, Æthelwulf, Æthelbald, Æthelbryht, Æthelred, Ælfred, Eadmund.
 bishop of. See Hlothere, Aldhelm.
 Cynric of, 1789.
 West Saxons, 845, 1411, 1540, 1712, 1760, 1766, 2342, 2476, 2940.
 defeat Danes at Ockley, 2476.
 See Wessex.
 West Wales. See Wales, West.
 West Welsh. See Welsh, West.
 Westbury, Wilts, 3190*n*.
 Westmaringiens, another name for Picts, 969.
 Westmereland, Westmeriland. See Westmoreland.
 Westminster, William II.'s hall at, 5978.
 Westminster Abbey, 4700.
 Eadward Confessor and Eadgyth, buried in, 5143.
 abbot of, 4492.
 Westmoreland, 3586, Ep. 188.
 Westmoster. See Westminster.
 Westmuster. See Westminster.
 Westsexe. See Wessex.
 Westsexien, Westsexin. See West Saxons.
 Westwaleis. See Welsh, West.
 Wethmor. See Wedmore.
 Wherwell, queen Ælfthryth does penance, dies, and is buried at, 4087, 4088, 4089.
 Whistley Park, Berks, 2964*n*.
 Whitby, synod at, 1380*n*.
 St. Hilda, abbess of, 1474.
 Whiterne, St. Ninian buried at, 971.
 Wicganbeorh, 2457*n*.
 Wide, a mere near Well, p. 391.
 Wienberghe. See Wembury.
 Wig, ancestor of Cerdic, 826*n*.
 Wigening, 835.
 Wight. See Isle of Wight.
 Wiglaf, king of Mercia, 2293, 2351.
 Wihtried, Wihtret, king of Kent, 1550, 1560, 1697.
 dies, 1697.
 Wilaf. See Wiglaf.
 Wilfrei. See Wilfrith.
 Wilfrith, saint, bishop of York (664-678).
 consecrated, 1384.
 comet over, 1450.
 driven out by Egferth of Northumbria, 1453, 1493*n*, 1621.
 goes to Rome, 1457.
 returns as primate, 1504, 1505.
 dies at Oundle, 1616.
 is buried at Ripon, 1617.
 church dedicated to, 5210*n*.
 Wilfrith, bishop of York (721-44).
 consecrated bishop, 1510, 1511.
 dies, 1783, 1785.
 Wilfriz. See Wilfrith.
 Wilfumus, monk of Ely, p. 368.
 Willame. See William.
 William I. king of England, 5319-5741, 5899*n*, pp. 369, 374.

William I.—*cont.*

gives Richmond to earl Alan of Brittany, 5322*n*, 5325.
 becomes king, 5344.
 goes to Normandy, 5354.
 imprisons lords in York, 5376–5400.
 wastes Yorkshire, 5449–56.
 besieges Hereward in Ely, 5481, 5493.
 attacks Ely, p. 376.
 his promises to the first soldier to enter, p. 378.
 disposed to make peace with Hereward, p. 382.
 his admiration of Hereward, p. 388.
 nearly wounded, p. 390.
 monks of Ely offer to surrender to, p. 391.
 receives Hereward, pp. 399, 404.
 leads an army against Malcolm III. 5713.

takes earl Waltheof, 5724.

dies, 5738.

his queen. *See* Matilda.

his children, 5741.

William II., king of England, 5776–6434.

crowned king, 5778.
 besieges Le Mans, 5787.
 crosses to Normandy in a storm, 5830.
 releases Elias de la Fleche, 5945.
 gives North Wales to earl of Chester, 6043.

besieges Robert de Mowbray in Bamburgh Castle, 6149.

grants a fee to Eadgar, king of Scotland, 6185.

duke of Normandy during Robert's absence, 6205.

his intentions of conquest, 6294.

shot by Walter Tirel, 6328.

grief shown by his attendants, 6350–6414.

buried in St. Swithun's Minster at Winchester, 6416.

loved by his people, 5923.

feared by his neighbours, 6201.

splendour of his feast, 5977.

laws of, 6217.

forest laws of, 6227.

William, count of Evreux, joins William II. in Normandy, 5901.

William de Conversano, 5772*n*.

William, count of Mortaigne, joins William II. in Normandy, 5905.

Wilde, ancestor of Cerdic, 836.

Wilton, Wilts, 1820.

Danes meet Alfred at, 3027.

taken by Swegen, 4142*n*.

chief city of Wessex, Ep. 43.

abbey, Ep. 45.

Wiltshire, 3990, Ep. 108.

men of, 2217*n*. 2221.

thanes of, 3170.

Wimborne, Dorset, abbey built there by Cuthburh, sister of Ine, 1669, 1670.

Æthelred I. buried at, 3021.

Winburgne. *See* Wimborne.

Wincestre, Wyncestre. *See* Winchester.

Winchester, Ep. 47, 106, 6433.

Danes at, 2551.

Cynewulf, king of Wessex, buried at, 1915.

Æthelwulf, son of Ecgbryht, buried at, 2528.

Eadward I. buried in, 3514.

part of queen Emma's dower, 4138, 4199*n*.

queen Emma at, 4207.

in Eadmund's kingdom, 4390.

Eadward Confessor crowned at, 4860*n*.

Godwine buried at, 5042.

Earl Waltheof's body removed from, 5728.

Ceolwulf, king of, 1031.

bishopric of, 1585, Ep. 48, 105.

bishops of. *See* Daniel, Hunferth, Heahmund, Walkelin.

history of, 2234, 2334, 6467.

Winchester cathedral, built by Kenwealla, king of Wessex, 1304.

Æthelred Unready crowned at, 4081.

St. Swithun buried in, 3972*n*.

William II. buried in, 6416.

St. Vincent's altar in, 4080.

Windsoueres. *See* Windsor.

Windsor, 2965.

Wineburne. *See* Wimborne.
 Wingfield, Oswy, king of Northumberland,
 kills Penda at, 1326.
 Wising, 836.
 Winter, companion of Hereward, 5573,
 5626, pp. 368, 372, 373, 394.
 Winwitfel. *See* Wingfield.
 Wirecestre. *See* Worcester.
 Wiscelet (Whistley), Æthelred and Ælfred
 driven there by the Danes, 2964.
 Wising, 834.
 Witchford, Camb., p. 391.
 Withret. *See* Wihtrud.
 Wivhardus, comrade of Hereward, p. 371.
 Wlfhere, Wolfhere. *See* Wulfhere.
 Wlfriz. *See* Willfrith.
 Wlgar. *See* Walgar.
 Wlstanet. *See* Wolstanet.
 Wlricus Albus, comrade of Hereward,
 p. 373.
 Wlricus Niger, comrade of Hereward,
 pp. 372, 373.
 Wlricus Rahere (the Heron), p. 372.
 Woden, 841.
 Wodnesberghe. *See* Wansborough.
 Wodnez. *See* Woden.
 Wolfhard. *See* Wulfheard.
 Wolstanet, dwarf of Eadward Martyr,
 3991-4023.
 Worcester, bishopric of, Ep. 157.
 Worcestershire, Ep. 157.
 men of, 2217n.
 Wrokesham bridge (Wroxham, Norf.),
 p. 372.
 Wulfheard, ealdorman, 2260, 2399.
 Wulfhere, king of Mercia (656-75), 1343 -
 1421, 2042n.
 fights the Britons at Pen, 1347.
 fights with Cenwalh of Wessex,
 1355.
 loses Ashdown, 1360.
 gives Isle of Wight to Æthelwald,
 king of Sussex, 1366.
 is defeated by Æsewine at Biedan-
 heafod, 1414.
 dies, 1421.
 his daughter Werbnrh, 2042n.

Wycheforde (Witchford), Camb., p. 391.

Wynter. *See* Winter.

Wyternen. *See* Whiterne.

Y.

Yarmouth, Gurmund, Danish king,
 embarks at, 3261.
 Yiardus, companion of Hereward, p. 373.
 Yiardus, brother of Hugo Normannus,
 companion of Hereward, same as
 Wivhardus, (?) p. 373.
 York, 1664n, 5130.
 called Chester, 1506.
 one of the Seven Burghs, 4222n.
 capital of Deira, p. 331.
 bridge over the Ouse at, p. 329.
 Eadwine, king of Northumberland,
 baptised at, 1206.
 Cuthbert consecrated at, 1489.
 king Æthelred received at, 1975.
 Eardwulf crowned at, 2202.
 Danes at, 2586, 2588, 2744, 2839,
 2861.
 king Osbryht dwells at, 2607, 2634,
 2678.
 battle at, 2752, 2770, 2794.
 Ragnald wins, 3508.
 Æthelwold sent to, 3845.
 in Cnut's kingdom, 4388.
 Tostig driven out of, 5119.
 Harold Hardrada at, 5212.
 William I. sends to, 5380.
 William I. imprisons barons in, 5399.
 taken by Danish invaders, 5420.
 taken (A.D. 1069) by Swegen's sons,
 4937n, 5439.

York—*cont.*

bishop and archbishop of. *See*
Paulinus, John, Ealdred.
king of. *See* Ælla, Eadwine, Osric.
kingdom of, 2313.
lord of. *See* Siward, Tostig.
men of, 5119.

York Minster, built by Eadwine, 1041,
Egberht and Eata buried in, 1757.
Swegen buried in, 4162.
Yorkshire, Ep. 68, 173.
Yrie, son of Harald, king of Northumbria,
3555-8.

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CONTENTS.

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	Page 3
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
WORKS PUBLISHED IN PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY	-	-	-	-	-	-	29
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS	-	-	-	-	-	-	35

SCOTCH RECORD PUBLICATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
IRISH RECORD PUBLICATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	40

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1872-1880.

Vol. I.—1603-1606.

Vol. II.—1606-1608.

Vol. III.—1608-1610.

Vol. IV.—1611-1614.

Vol. V.—1615-1625.

This series is in continuation of the Irish State Papers commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; but for the reign of James I., the Papers are not confined to those in the Public Record Office, London.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. 1860-1884.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574-1660.

Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513-1616.

Vol. III.—East Indies, China, and Japan 1617-1621.

Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622-1624.

Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661-1668.

Vol. VI.—East Indies, 1625-1629.

These volumes include an analysis of early Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London (Vols. I.-IV.); and *by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq., (Vols. V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX.) 1862-1888.

Vol. I.—1509-1514.

Vol. II. (in Two Parts)—1515-1518.

Vol. III. (in Two Parts)—1519-1523.

Vol. IV.—Introduction.

Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524-1526.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526-1528.

Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529-1530.

Vol. V.—1531-1532.

Vol. VI.—1533.

Vol. VII.—1534.

Vol. VIII.—1535, to July.

Vol. IX.—1535, Aug. to Dec.

Vol. X.—1536, Jan. to June.

Vol. XI.—1536, July to Dec.

These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547-1553. *Edited by* W. R. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF MARY, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553-1558. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest. The Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of Calais merit a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. These volumes treat only of the relations of England with foreign powers.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.-VII.), and ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vols. VIII.-XI.) 1863-1880.

Vol. I.— 1558-1559.

Vol. II.— 1559-1560.

Vol. III.— 1560-1561.

Vol. IV.— 1561-1562.

Vol. V.— 1562.

Vol. VI.— 1563.

Vol. VII.— 1564-1565.

Vol. VIII.— 1566-1568.

Vol. IX.— 1569-1571.

Vol. X.— 1572-1574.

Vol. XI.— 1575-1577.

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Elizabeth. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. 1868-1883.

Vol. I.— 1557-1696.

Vol. II.— 1697-1702.

Vol. III.— 1702-1707.

Vol. IV.— 1708-1714.

Vol. V.— 1714-1719.

The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise, petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. 1867-1873.

Vol. I.— 1515-1574.

Vol. II.— 1575-1588.

Vol. III.— 1589-1600.

Vol. IV.— 1601-1603.

Vol. V.— Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.

Vol. VI.— 1603-1624.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, in the Lambeth Library, are unique and of great importance to all students of Irish history.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH, (Vols. I. and II.) 1862-1868, and DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS (Vols. III. to V.) 1873-1888.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485-1509.

Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509-1525.

Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525-1526.

Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527-1529.

Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529-1530.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1531-1533.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—*continued*.—Hen. VIII.—1531-1533.

Vol. V., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1534-1536.

Vol. V., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1536-1538.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Spain. The Supplement contains new

information relating to the private life of Queen Katherine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar, and he has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864-1884.

Vol. I.— 1202-1509.

Vol. II.— 1509-1519.

Vol. III.—1520-1526.

Vol. IV.—1527-1533.

Vol. V.— 1534-1554.

Vol. VI., Part I.— 1555-1556.

Vol. VI., Part II.— 1556-1557.

Vol. VI., Part III.—1557-1558.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FÆDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.—Edw. III. 1066-1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.—Chas. II. 1377-1654. Vol. III., Appendix and Index. 1869-1885.

Rymer's "Fædera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fædera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great national work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2s. 6d.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2s. 6d.

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- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XV.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. V.—1592-1596.
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- CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VI.—1720, &c.
- DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT DEEDS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. I.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XX. 1645, &c.
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In Progress.

- CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. XII.—1537.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VIII.—East Indies, 1630, &c.
- CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VII.
- CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS, OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD II. AND EDWARD III.
- CALENDAR OF ANCIENT CORRESPONDENCE, Diplomatic Documents, Papal Bulls, and the like, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* C. T. MARTIN, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.
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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. Price 10s. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm," and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many acts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual account.

4. **MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA.** Vol. I.—*Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ.* Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—*De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c.* Edited by RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. **FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO.** Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. **THE BULK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece;** by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. **JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS.** Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I. the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. **HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS,** by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. Edited by CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham.

9. **EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS):** *Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum.* Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1366 and 1366. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV.

10. **MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH:** *Bernardi Andrew Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia.* Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which

he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. **MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—***Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhani Liber Metricus de Henrico V.* Edited by CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; *Versus Rhythmici*, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. **MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index.** Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. **CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES.** Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. **A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II.** Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. **THE "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON.** Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologie*."

16. **BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298: necnonejusdem Liber de Achiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ.** Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. **BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales.** Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Cædwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. **A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404.** Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events.

19. **THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY.** By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecoek took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century.

20. **ANNALES CAMBRIÆ.** *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commenced in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegeuwryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. **THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.** Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861-1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* and *Descriptio Cambriæ*: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND.** Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Dépôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. **THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES.** Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861-1863.

The papers are derived from the MSS. in Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. **LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE**, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1233, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III. but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. **DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.** Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. By Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. If possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. **ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III.** Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. Selected and edited by the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. **CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.**—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELowe ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, a THOMÆ WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^{mo} FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIS JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALLINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, a JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ a THOMÆ WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneфорde: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. *CHRONICON ABBATIE EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.* Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Eadwin, about 680, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. *RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIE.* Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355-1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britannie* in 1747.

31. *YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.* Years 20-21, 21-22, 30-31, 32-33, and 33-35 Edw. I.; and 11-12 Edw. III. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple Barrister-at-Law. Years 12-13, 13-14, and 14 Edward III. Edited and translated by LUKE OWEN PIKE, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1886.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Reports. They contain matter not only of practical utility to lawyers in the present day, but also illustrative of almost every branch of history, while for certain philological purposes they hold a position absolutely unique. The history of the constitution and of the law, of procedure, and of practice, the jurisdiction of the various Courts, and their relation to one another, as well as to the Sovereign and Council, cannot be known without the aid of the Year Books.

32. *NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY 1449-1450.* —Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normannie: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conférences between the Ambassadors of France and England. Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. *HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ.* Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863-1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Frocester the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. *ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ.* Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "This Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divine Sapientie" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. *LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest.* Vols. I., II., and III. Collected and edited

by the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1864-1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect.

36. *ANNALES MONASTICI*. Vol. I.:—*Annales de Margan, 1066-1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263; Annales de Burton, 1004-1263*. Vol. II.:—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291*. Vol. III.:—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042-1432*. Vol. IV.:—*Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016-1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377*. Vol. V.:—*Index and Glossary*. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrar of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. *MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS*. From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. *CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST*. Vol. I.:—*ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI*. Vol. II.:—*EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199*. Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. *RECUEIL DES CHRONIQUES ET ANCIENNES HISTOIRES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNEA PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN*. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. Edited by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864-1879. Vol. IV. 1431-1443. Edited by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1884.

40. *A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAURIN*. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vols. I. and II.) Edited and translated by Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864-1887.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. It is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. **POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN**, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865-1886.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. **LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE.** *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the supposed author.

43. **CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406.** Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. **MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR.** Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. **LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023.** *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. **CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; and SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150.** *Edited, with Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq. M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked year by year, from A.M. 1590 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. **THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "*Historia Britonum*;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. **THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.** *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious internal evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not an eye-witness, must have derived his information from eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. **GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192, known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. **MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts).** *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTED, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. **CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE.** Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868-1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1143, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (see No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. **WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM DIBRI QUINQUE.** *Edited by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "*Gesta Pontificum*" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. **HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320.** *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. **THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 to 1590.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A.* 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. **MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES.** Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L.* 1871-1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Pryne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. **MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.** *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.* Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Beckington before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King.

57. **MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA.** Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge.* 1872-1884.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Watts, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. **MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 1872-1873.

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a desideratum by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. **THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.** Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres).* 1872.

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. **MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.* 1873-1877.

These volumes are valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadow out the policy he afterwards adopted.

61. **HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS.** *Edited by JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society.* 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. **REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311-1316.** Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.* 1873-1878.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelate, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

63. *MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.*

This volume contains several lives of Archbishop Dunstan, opening various points of Historical and Literary interest.

64. *CHRONICON ANGLIÆ, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI. Edited by EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.*

This chronicle gives a circumstantial history of the close of the reign of Edward III.

65. *THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC. Vols. I. and II. Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875-1884.*

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

66. *RADULPHI DE COGGESHALL CHRONICON ANGLICANUM Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1875.*

This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglicanum," by Ralph of Coggeshall, the "Libellus de Expugnacione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to the same author, and other pieces of an interesting character.

67. *MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I., II., III., IV., V., and VI. Edited by the Rev. JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875-1883. Vol. VII. Edited by JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, Esq., LL.D. 1885.*

This publication comprises all contemporary materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket. The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadriologus, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

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The Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto are some of the most valuable materials for British History. The Abbreviationes Chronicorum extend from the Creation to 1147, and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

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This is a new edition of Bracton's celebrated work, collated with MSS. in the British Museum; the Libraries of Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, and Gray's Inn; Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; &c.

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The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury are of great importance as regards the questions of Church and State, during the period in which he wrote. This work was printed by Twysden, in the "*Historia Anglicanæ Scriptores X.*," more than two centuries ago.

74. HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM. THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH, BY HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, Esq., M.A., of University College, Oxford. 1879.

Henry of Huntingdon's work was first printed by Sir Henry Savile, in 1596, in his "*Scriptores post Bedam*," and reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. Both editions are very rare and inaccurate. The first five books of the History were published in 1848 in the "*Monumenta Historiæ Britannicæ*," which is out of print. The present volume contains the whole of the manuscript of Huntingdon's History in eight books, collated with a manuscript lately discovered at Paris.

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The first volume of these Chronicles contains the "*Annales Londonienses*" and the "*Annales Paulini*;" the second, I.—*Compendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu magni Regis Edwardi*. II.—*Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi*. III.—*Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita, Edwardi II.* IV.—*Vita et Mors Edwardi II.* *Conscripita a Thoma de la Moore.*

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These Letters are of great value for illustrating English Ecclesiastical History.

78. REGISTER OF S. OSMUND. *Edited by* the Rev. W. H. RICH JONES, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Salisbury, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon. Vols. I. and II. 1883, 1884.

This Register, of which a complete copy is here printed for the first time, is among the most ancient of the monuments of the Bishops of Salisbury. It derives its name from containing the statutes, rules, and orders made, or compiled by S. Osmund, to be observed in the Cathedral and diocese of Salisbury. The first 19 folios contain the "*Consuetudinary*," the exposition, as regards ritual, of the "*Use of Sarum*."

79. CHARTULARY OF THE ABBEY OF RAMSEY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM HENRY HART, Esq., F.S.A., and the Rev. PONSONBY ANNESLEY LYONS. 1884, 1886.

This Chartulary of the Ancient Benedictine Monastery of Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, came to the Crown on the Dissolution of Monasteries, was afterwards preserved in the Stone Tower, Westminster Hall, and thence transferred to the Public Record Office.

80. CHARTULARIES OF ST. MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN, WITH THE REGISTER OF ITS HOUSE AT DUNBRODY, COUNTY OF WEXFORD, AND ANNALS OF IRELAND, 1162-1370. *Edited by* JOHN THOMAS GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. Vols. I. & II. 1884, 1885.

The Chartularies and register, here printed for the first time, are the only surviving manuscripts of their class in connexion with the Cistercians in Ireland. With them are included accounts of the other establishments of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, together with the earliest body of Anglo-Irish Annals extant.

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This volume contains the "*Historia Novorum in Anglia*," of Eadmer; his treatise "*De Vita et conversatione Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*," and a Tract entitled "*Quædam Parva Descriptio Miraculorum gloriosi Patris Anselmi Cantuariensis*."

82. CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF STEPHEN, HENRY II., AND RICHARD I. Vols. I. II., and III., *Edited by* RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law. 1884-1886.

Vol. I. contains Books I.-IV. of the "Historia Rerum Anglicarum" of William of Newburgh. Vol. II. contains Book V. of that work, the continuation of the same to A.D. 1293, and the "Draco Normannicus" of Etienne de Rouen.

Vol. III. contains the "Gesta Stephani Regis," the Chronicle of Richard of Hexham, the "Relatio de Standardo" of St. Aelfred of Rievaulx, the poem of Jordan Fantosme, and the Chronicle of Richard of Devises.

83. *CHRONICLE OF THE ABBEY OF RAMSEY.* Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Ducklington, Oxon. 1886.

This Chronicle forms part of the Chartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey, preserved in the Public Record Office (see No. 79).

84. *CHRONICA ROGERI DE WENDOVER, SIVE FLORES HISTORIARUM.* Vols. I. and II. Edited by HENRY GAY HEWLETT, Esq., Keeper of the Records of the Land Revenue. 1886-1887.

This edition gives that portion only of Roger of Wendover's Chronicle which can be accounted an original authority.

85. *THE LETTER BOOKS OF THE MONASTERY OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.* Edited by JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, Esq., LL.D. Vols. I. and II., 1887, 1888.

The Letters printed in these volumes were chiefly written between the years 1296 and 1333. Among the most notable writers were Prior Henry of Eastry, Prior Richard Oxenden, and the Archbishops Raynold and Meopham.

86. *THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER.* Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. Parts I. and II. 1887.

The date of the composition of this Chronicle is placed about the year 1300. The writer appears to have been an eye witness of many events which he describes. The language in which it is written was the dialect of Gloucestershire at that time.

87. *CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF BRUNNE.* Edited by FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Barrister-at-Law. Parts I and II. 1887.

Robert of Brunne, or Bourne, co. Lincoln, was a member of the Gilbertine Order established at Sempringham. His Chronicle is described by its editor as a work of fiction, a contribution not to English history, but to the history of English.

88. *ICELANDIC SAGAS AND OTHER HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles.* Vol. I. *Orkneyinga Saga*, and *Magnus Saga*. Vol. II. *Hakonar Saga*, and *Magnus Saga*. Edited by M. GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON, M.A. 1887.

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